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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Nuclear, Space Arms Talks Resume in Geneva *[TASS]* 1
Differences Noted at Nuclear, Space Arms Talks *[Alekseyev on Moscow International]* 1
Palenykh Previews Geneva Talks on Nuclear Tests *[TASS]* 1
Burt's Statement 'At Odds' With New Spirit *[Moscow International]* 1
Vienna Confidence-Building Talks Cover Air Forces *[PRAVDA]* 2
Delegate at Vienna Arms Talks Interviewed *[TASS]* 2
Bilateral Agreements on Chemical Weapons Urged *[Asaturov on Moscow International]* 2
Admiral Trost Speech on Naval Talks Criticized *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Sep]* 3

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

'Socialist' Conference Held in Varna 4
Opening Announced, Preview Given *[PRAVDA 27 Sep]* 4
Participants Listed, Agreements Reached *[PRAVDA 30 Sep]* 4
Lushev Previews Pact Meeting in Warsaw 3-5 Oct *[TASS]* 6
Moscow Proposes 'Politization' of Warsaw Pact *[Belgrade TANJUG]* 7

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

TASS Reports Perfilyev News Briefing 29 Sep 8
Gorbachev's Upcoming Visit to Japan 8
U.S. 'Soviet Military Power' Report 8
Proposals for Talks, 1990 Summit 8
UN Security Council Ministers Meet Perez de Cuellar *[IZVESTIYA 1 Oct]* 9
Lawyers' Forum Against Nuclear Arms Reported *[PRAVDA 27 Sep]* 9
IAEA Meeting Focuses on Nuclear Engineering *[Moscow Radio]* 10
Delegation Returns From Council of Europe Forum *[IZVESTIYA 27 Sep]* 10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Reportage on Defense Minister Yazov's U.S. Visit 11
Pentagon Spokesman Details Visit *[TASS]* 11
Yazov Cited on Aims of Visit *[PRAVDA 30 Sep]* 11
Yazov Makes Arrival Statement in Washington *[TASS]* 11
Pentagon's 'Military Power' Book 'Contradictory' *[Chernyshev on TASS]* 12
President Bush Cited on Soviet-U.S. Relations *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 1 Oct]* 13
'Top Priority' Program on U.S.-USSR Relations *[Moscow International]* 13
U.S. Barge Still Aground in Chukchi Sea *[TASS]* 16
Soviet, U.S. Counterterrorism Experts Confer *[PRAVDA 27 Sep]* 17
Commentary Assesses Quayle's Tour of Asia *[Golts in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Sep]* 17
Zorin Views U.S. 'Blunders' in Afghanistan *[Moscow International]* 18

China

Shevardnadze, Qian Qichen Meet at UN in New York *[IZVESTIYA 2 Oct]* 18
40th Anniversary of PRC Formation Celebrated 19
Party, State Bodies Send Greetings *[PRAVDA 1 Oct]* 19
Yazov Greets PRC Defense Minister *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Oct]* 19
TASS Reports Anniversary Celebrations 19
Li Peng Cited on PRC Anniversary *[TASS]* 20
PRC National Day Marked in Moscow *[Moscow International]* 20
Further on Moscow Ceremony *[IZVESTIYA 1 Oct]* 21

PRC Envoy's Television Address *[Moscow TV]* 21

Northeast Asia

Japan Welcomes 'Idea' of Gorbachev's Visit *[TASS]* 22
Japan To Seek Peace Treaty With Soviet Union *[TASS]* 22
Commentary Assesses Japan-USSR Relations *[Dmitriyev on Moscow International]* 22
Japanese Tug, Soviet Vessel Collide; Tug Sinks *[TASS]* 23
Quayle Emphasizes Defense Cooperation With Japan *[Dmitriyev on Moscow International]* 23
Commentary Views Quayle's Visit to Japan *[Kalinin on Moscow International]* 24

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shevardnadze, Thai Counterpart Discuss Cambodia *[TASS]* 24
USSR 'Might Supply' Heng Samrin With Weapons *[Tokyo KYODO 2 Oct]* 25
IZVESTIYA Reports Cambodia Situation *[26 Sep]* 25
Reportage on Situation in Western Cambodia *[Moscow International]* 26

Near East & South Asia

Official Denies Inviting Peres To Visit Moscow *[Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD 29 Sep]* 27
Iraq's 'Criticism' of Soviet-Iranian Ties Assailed *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 28
OPEC Conference, Iranian-Saudi Relations Viewed *[Andreyev on Moscow International]* 28
Opposition Forces Repulsed in Khowst *[TASS]* 29
U.S., Pakistan Must Act on Kabul Missile Attacks *[PRAVDA 27 Sep]* 29

Sub-Saharan Africa

South Africa Government Said To Cause Violence *[Asoyan on Moscow International]* 30
MPLA Figure Interviewed During USSR Visit *[Moscow International]* 31

East Europe

Shevardnadze Meets Foreign Ministers in New York 31
Romania's Totu *[PRAVDA 30 Sep]* 31
GDR's Fischer *[TASS]* 32
SFRY's Loncar *[TASS]* 32
Bulgaria's Mladenov *[IZVESTIYA 1 Oct]* 32
Fate of GDR Refugees in FRG Embassy Viewed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 29 Sep]* 33
GDR Paper Cited on FRG 'Pressure' To Defect *[PRAVDA 23 Sep]* 33
GDR's Mies Asks FRG Not To Participate in SDI *[TASS]* 33
Poland's Skubiszewski Welcomes Soviet Initiatives *[TASS]* 34
Polish Soldiers' Remains Exhumed in Lithuania *[Warsaw TV]* 34
Air Force's Yefimov Honors Bulgarian Army *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Sep]* 34

West Europe

1939 Soviet-German Pacts Viewed *[Moscow Radio]* 35
Gorbachev To Visit Italy 29 Nov-1 Dec *[TASS]* 36
Shevardnadze Meets W. European Officials at UN 36
Italian Counterpart De Michelis *[TASS]* 36
UK's Secretary Major *[IZVESTIYA 1 Oct]* 36
MOSCOW NEWS To Be Published in Britain *[MOSCOW NEWS No 39]* 36
Soviet-Norwegian Sea Rescue Exercise Held *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 Sep]* 37

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze Talk With Argentine President Detailed *[IZVESTIYA 1 Oct]* 37

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet Session

Glasnost Committee Works Out Draft Law on Press *[Moscow International]* 38
Bill on Voter Instructions Drafted 21 Sep *[TASS]* 38

Reasons for Cheap Goods Shortage Analyzed *[PRAVDA 23 Sep]* 38
Further on Supreme Soviet Proceedings 26 Sep 40
Debates Cooperatives *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 27 Sep]* 40
Adopts Taxation Decision *[TASS]* 41
Supreme Soviet Committees, Commissions Meet 28 Sep 41
Primakov Chairs Commission on Privileges *[Moscow TV]* 41
Committees Discuss Plans, Budget, Health Care *[Moscow Radio]* 42
Supreme Soviet Committees, Commissions Meet 29 Sep 42
People's Deputies Discuss Unemployment *[Moscow Radio]* 42
Committee Drafts Property Law *[TASS]* 43
Joint Supreme Soviet Session Opens 2 Oct *[Moscow Radio]* 44
Ryzhkov To Speak on New Laws *[TASS]* 44
Ryzhkov Bills of 'Strategic Importance' *[Moscow International]* 44

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Shcherbitskiy, Ivashko Interviewed *[PRAVDA 30 Sep]* 44
Further Reportage on Gorbachev at Ukraine Plenum *[PRAVDA 30 Sep]* 46
Gorbachev Meets Miners in Kiev *[TASS]* 47
Miners Reportedly Plan 'Symbolic' Strike for 2 Oct *[AFP]* 48
Coal Minister Discusses Strike Resolutions *[Moscow TV]* 48
Officials Discuss Miners' Situation *[Moscow TV]* 50
Moldavia More Calm in Wake of Strikes *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Oct]* 50
Moldavian Language Program Published *[TASS]* 51
Moldavian Plenum Advocates Party Unity *[TASS]* 52
Draft Laws on Elections Discussed in Moldavia *[TASS]* 52
Central Committee Secretary Girenko Interviewed *[PRAVDA 27 Jun]* 53
U.S. Footage of Yeltsin Visit Broadcast *[Moscow TV]* 54
Yeltsin Interviewed on Nation's Tasks *[Moscow Radio]* 54
Vorotnikov Chairs RSFSR Presidium Meeting *[Moscow TV]* 56
Medvedev Returns From Berlin Ideology Conference *[TASS]* 56
Medvedev Addresses Propaganda Conference *[Moscow Radio]* 56
People's Deputy Claims Medvedev Insults Uzbeks *[Tashkent Radio]* 56
Lukyanov Addresses Conference on Crime *[Moscow TV]* 57
Continued Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Blockade 57
Rail Situation 'Worsening' *[Moscow Radio]* 57
'No Sign' of Relaxation Seen *[Moscow Radio]* 58
Official Describes Food Distribution *[Moscow Radio]* 59
Fuel Shortage Hinders Unloading of Supplies *[Moscow TV]* 59
'Resolute Measures' Expected From Gorbachev *[Yerevan Radio]* 60
Lvov Reviews 'Disruption' in Transcaucasus *[TASS]* 60
Armenian Party Reviews Supplies Shortage *[Yerevan Radio]* 61
Basic Commodities Scarce *[Yerevan International]* 61
Newsprint Shortage Updated *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 Sep]* 61
PRAVDA Article on Rail Deliveries Refuted *[Yerevan International]* 62
Correspondent Gives Update 27 Sep *[Moscow Radio]* 62
Azeris Allegedly Receiving Aid *[Yerevan International]* 63
Armenian Commission To Assess Losses *[Yerevan Radio]* 63
Armenian Supreme Soviet Decision on NKAO *[ARMENPRES]* 63
Armenian Party Discusses 'Grass-Roots' Activity *[Yerevan Radio]* 64
Winter Plans for Armenian Quake Zone Discussed *[TASS]* 64
Armenian Chemical Plant To Halt Production *[Yerevan Radio]* 64
Armenian Foreign Bank Set Up in Yerevan *[Yerevan International]* 65
Military Officer on Upcoming Exercise in Armenia *[Yerevan Radio]* 65
Armenians' Security in Soviet Army Questioned *[Yerevan International]* 65
Azeri Deputies Criticize Ethnic Dispute Coverage *[Baku Radio]* 65
Rural Azerbaijan Sets Example of Steady Work *[PRAVDA 29 Sep]* 66
Boycott Against Ukrainian Folk Festival Fails *[Moscow TV]* 66
'Rukh' Congress Reflects Perestroyka Issues *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 24 Sep]* 67
'Extremists' Railroad Rukh Local Section *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 7 Sep]* 71
80,000 March in Minsk Demanding Evacuation *[AFP]* 72
News Weekly Published in Belorussia *[Moscow Radio]* 72
Lithuanian MP's Call for Referendum on Independence *[AFP]* 72

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Ends Session 30 Sep *[TASS]* 73
Party Chief Discusses Draft Laws *[Moscow TV]* 73
Correspondent Reports on Lithuanian Supreme Soviet *[Moscow TV]* 74
Vyalyas CPSU Party Plenum Speech Reported *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 22 Sep]* 74
Draft Estonian Party Program Published *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 10 Sep]* 77
Consumer Ministry Abolished in Estonia *[Moscow Radio]* 82
Baltic Procession Staged in Moscow 28 Sep *[Vilnius International]* 82
Republics Plan To Form Group of Deputies *[Vilnius International]* 83
Group's Main Goal Drafting 'Joint Platform' *[AFP]* 84
Researcher on Draft Estonian Ethnic Rights Law *[Tallinn Radio]* 84
Travel Restrictions Eased for U.S. Diplomats *[TASS]* 84
Provisions for Moscow Financial Autonomy Approved *[Moscow Radio]* 85
Ligachev Activities at Osh Conference Reported *[SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA 12 Sep]* 85
Gusev, Others Censured Over Goods Shortages *[PRAVDA 27 Sep]* 87
Railways Fail To Meet Target; Strikes Faulted *[Moscow International]* 88
Railways Minister Interviewed *[Moscow TV]* 88
Baykal-Amur Train Line Open *[Moscow Radio]* 88
Subway Workers Form Strike Committee *[MOSCOW NEWS no 38]* 88
Conference Prepares for New Trade Union *[TASS]* 89
Baklanov Addresses Leningrad Workers *[Moscow TV]* 89
Visits Enterprises *[Moscow Radio]* 89
Concern at Leningrad Public Order Status Cited *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 12 Sep]* 90
Official Interviewed on Cooperatives *[PRAVDA 14 Sep]* 90
New Kazakh Deputy Premier, Official Appointed *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 92
Tajik Youth Problems Discussed *[IZVESTIYA 26 Sep]* 92
Demonstration Protests Tatar Nuclear Construction *[Moscow Radio]* 92
Internal Affairs Deputy Minister on Recent Crime *[Moscow TV]* 92
Lysenko Discounts Possibility of Gorbachev Ouster *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 16 Sep]* 93
Nina Andreyeva on 'Ideological Battle' *[Budapest TV]* 95
Social Scientist Assesses Socialist 'Crisis'
[Frankfur/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSHCHAU 29 Sep] 96
Further on 'Iron Fist' Leadership *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 20 Sep]* 96

Economic

Tax on Wage Funds Criticized as 'Stillborn' *[PRAVDA 27 Sep]* 101
Official on Economic 'Emergency Situation' *[Moscow Radio]* 102
Rocket Production Reduced To Boost Consumer Goods *[Moscow International]* 103
Correction to Abalkin Interview on Economic Program *[IZVESTIYA 23 Sep]* 103

Scientific

Gorizont Communications Satellite Launched 28 Sep *[TASS]* 103
Bio-Satellite Successfully Returns to Earth *[TASS]* 103
Cosmonauts Continue Work Onboard Mir Orbiter 104
Experiments Described *[TASS]* 104
Rest Day Described *[Moscow Radio]* 104

Military

Baltic Military Leaders Criticize Attacks on Army 104
Military Council Convenes *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Sep]* 104
Appeal of Council Members *[SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 17 Sep]* 105
Military Crime, Lack of Discipline Discussed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Sep]* 106
Successful Atomic Detonation in 1954 Detailed *[TASS]* 108

Nuclear, Space Arms Talks Resume in Geneva

LD2909132489 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Geneva September 29 TASS—Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms resumed here today with a meeting between the chief negotiators.

The main distinguishing feature of the 12th round of the talks is that it follows the Wyoming meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, which has taken Soviet-U.S. dialogue to a new stage.

The principal objective of the negotiators is to complete the last leg on the way to a treaty on a 50-per cent reduction of strategic weapons by the next Soviet-U.S. summit in late spring or early summer 1990.

Differences Noted at Nuclear, Space Arms Talks

LD2909203389 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Soviet-American talks for nuclear and space arms have resumed in Geneva. Their 12th round began after the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, had had successful talks with President George Bush and State Secretary James Baker. It may play a big role in achieving an agreement to cut by half strategic offensive arms. Spartak Alekseyev comments:

The art of winning accord is always the art of compromising. Accord to reduce Soviet and American strategic offensive weapons was reached after both sides had made two far-reaching concessions. The Soviet Union had stopped insisting on getting simultaneous action on ABM defenses, and the United States had removed the proposal for banning mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles. But there have remained disputes and differences.

There is still a gap in the two nations' views on moving [word indistinct] weapons in space. America is yet to respond to the new Soviet proposal for great range air- and sea-based cruise missiles and it has been declining a proposal for a mutual and total nuclear test ban, but compromise has cleared the way for a treaty to gradually cut by half the two nations' key nuclear arms, to bring them down to reasonable defense sufficiency level. Both Washington and Moscow hope a treaty of this kind can be signed in the middle of next year, when one more Soviet-American summit is held.

Palenykh Previews Geneva Talks on Nuclear Tests

LD2909164989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Sep (TASS)—The Soviet-U.S. negotiations to resume in Geneva on 2 October on issues to do with halting nuclear tests will take place in qualitatively new conditions brought about by the results of the meeting in Wyoming between Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. This was stated by Igor Palenykh, head of the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on the question of halting nuclear tests. He was speaking here today in the context of a briefing held at the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Among the accords reached in Wyoming on the problem of nuclear tests, the Soviet diplomat singled out the package of measures agreed upon to verify the 1974 treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests. In this way, Igor Palenykh stressed, a fundamental matter that had been hindering the drafting of a verification protocol to the above treaty was resolved.

The mechanism for verifying compliance with the 1974 treaty agreed upon in Wyoming, recalled the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman, includes three methods: On-site hydrodynamic measurements, on-site inspections, and monitoring using seismic stations on the territory of the side being monitored. In addition, to permit a statistically significant quantity of data to be obtained to perfect national technical means, each of the sides is guaranteed the right to carry out on-site hydrodynamic measurements of at least two tests annually for 5 years after ratification of the 1974 treaty; and after 5 years, each of the sides will guarantee one such hydrodynamic measurement a year, unless the two sides come to a different agreement.

This accord, Igor Palenykh stressed, ensures rapid headway toward final agreement of a verification protocol to the 1974 treaty and thus opens the way to implementing the treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear tests and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, signed in 1974 and 1976 respectively.

"The delegations at the talks," the Soviet diplomat added, "have instructions to prepare verification protocols to these treaties for signing during the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit. The Soviet delegation has everything it requires to carry out these instructions in good time."

"The completion of work on the above treaties," Igor Palenykh said in conclusion, "will signify that the tasks of the first stage of the negotiations will have been carried out and will make it possible to switch to practical discussion of further limitations on nuclear tests en route to the complete halting of them. Those are the guidelines the Soviet delegation will work to."

Burt's Statement 'At Odds' With New Spirit

LD3009010689 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] The Soviet Union and the United States have renewed talks in Geneva on cutting by half their strategic arms. The United States chief arms negotiator, Mr Richard Burt, told newsmen after talks with his Soviet counterpart, Yuriy Nazarkin, that the Jackson Hole

spirit had now been carried over to Geneva. He meant talks in Wyoming where the two countries' foreign ministers, Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker, had reached a compromise on a range of crucial strategic arms reduction issues. The main aim of the Geneva talks is to produce a treaty on strategic offensive arms. However, Mr Burt later distanced himself from his optimism on the outcome of the talks and said in an interview with American television that it should not be pushed to an artificial deadline. He made an open reference to next year's summit meeting between the two powers believed to be capable of producing a treaty on halving strategic weapons. Mr Burt's statement saying that if the United States wanted to strike a good disarmament deal with the Soviet Union it must go ahead with its military programs, including the SDI, was also at odds with the Jackson Hole spirit.

Vienna Confidence-Building Talks Cover Air Forces

PM0110192189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent I. Melnikov: "Discussing Confidence-Building Measures"]

[Text] Vienna, 29 Sep—The "talks of the 23" and the "talks of the 35" are taking place separately in Vienna, but there is a close logical connection between them. The former forum involves the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, whose aim is to cut conventional armed forces on our continent. The latter involves representatives of all the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and is devoted to elaborating confidence building and security measures.

Today, exactly 24 hours after the Warsaw Pact states presented proposals at the "talks of the 23" on front-line aircraft, the parallel forum started a debate on confidence-building measures as applied to air force military activity. The session was addressed by Soviet delegation member Major General V.M. Tatarnikov. He argued that the process of elaborating confidence-building measures must be stepped up. The talks participants are prompted to do this by the intensive development of combat aircraft: Air force groupings in Europe now number around 15,000 combat aircraft. This category of armed forces must be controlled in the same way as ground forces.

Delegate at Vienna Arms Talks Interviewed

LD3009095589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Report by TASS Correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Excerpt] Vienna, 29 Sep (TASS)—[passage omitted] At the talks on conventional armed force in Europe, Major General Viktor Tatarnikov, a member of the Soviet delegation, said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent, the NATO representatives believe it advisable, with the purpose of strengthening stability and security, to think about measures of stabilization in regard to combat aircraft and helicopters, since this type of weapon is one of the most dangerous and destabilizing. One can only guess as to why those 16 states cannot arrive at the same conclusion at the talks on confidence-building and security measures and adopt a constructive position on the question of including them in confidence-building measures regarding the activities of the air forces, he added.

Bilateral Agreements on Chemical Weapons Urged

LD3009151189 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] With a 1-day difference, the United States and the Soviet Union introduced their proposals concerning chemical weapons at the current 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. Common for the two countries is the desire to free humanity from that barbarous weapon. But they proposed different ways of achieving that. Our military observer Eduard Asaturov explains:

Only two countries in the world admit that they have chemical weapons in their possession. The countries are the Soviet Union and the United States. Their stocks of chemical weapons are large enough to kill the entire world population many a time. Today, even the mere storing of such weapons has become dangerous. It is not accidental that the United States approved a law last year in keeping with which at least 90 percent of what is known as unitary, that is single component chemical weapons, are to be destroyed by 1997. These are chemical weapons that were put out 20 or more years ago and one can expect any bad consequences from their storage.

The problem is similar in the Soviet Union. Here, too, the development of a national program for eliminating chemical weapons has become a priority task. It was planned to launch the process at the end of this year. So the Soviet Union and the United States became aware independently of the need to reduce the stocks of their chemical weapons even unilaterally. But if put on a bilateral and coordinated basis, the process could become more effective and reliable. Therefore Moscow took an understanding view of the proposal introduced by President Bush to mutually eliminate 80 percent of the chemical weapons potential. But to reduce the stocks of chemical weapons does not mean to totally get rid of them. The Soviet Union, therefore, expressed the readiness to move further on that road provided the United States agreed to do the same. It is ready to totally destroy the old stocks and to halt the production of new kinds of chemical weapons. All this can be done under strict control. The Soviet Union is ready not to use chemical weapons under any circumstances. It stopped the chemical weapons production in 1987 and pledged in the same year not to resume it. The United States acted differently. In about the same time it launched and has been putting into reality ever since the long-term program for stockpiling the qualitatively new chemical

weapons known as binary weapons. The production capacity of the plant built specially for the purpose is very impressive: 700,000 artillery shells and aviation bombs a year. The elimination of the old stocks and the production of new kinds of weapons at the same time is hardly a way of freeing mankind from chemical weapons.

One final point: Is it necessary for the two countries, as the American president believes to wait before getting rid of their own weapons until chemical weapons are no longer available in the third countries? I think it is absolutely unnecessary. So far as these weapons are available in the arsenals of great powers, their proliferation all over the world cannot be stopped. But if the Soviet Union and the United States could agree on their elimination for good, it would be difficult for other countries not to follow their example. The road for signing a many-sided convention on abandoning and destroying chemical weapons would be cleared of any obstacles. Such are my considerations concerning the position of the Soviet Union and the United States on this issue, Colonel Eduard Asaturov said in conclusion.

Admiral Trost Speech on Naval Talks Criticized

PM0210103989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 First Edition p 5

[Article by V. Pustov under the rubric "Pertinent Notes": "What the Admiral Is Afraid Of"]

[Text] It would be no exaggeration to say that the world has welcomed with great satisfaction the constructive development of Soviet-U.S. relations as it gathers momentum. The great importance of this was noted at the recent New York meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze and the foreign ministers of the EEC countries. The White House press secretary said that in the solution of, for instance, the problem of reducing and destroying chemical weapons, the United States and the USSR "are on the same wavelength."

The speech by Admiral C. Trost, chief of staff of the U.S. Navy, at the Association for Orientation in the Field of Defense, which is an organization of military contractors, sounded quite sharply out of tune against this background. The admiral opposed talks on the reduction of naval forces, asserting that for the United States this would be a "bad deal" which "would seriously undermine" its security. In a spirit out of tune with our time, characterized by growing restraint in international deeds and in words, the admiral, without bothering with any proof, asserted without justification that the Soviet peace initiatives "could be a trap," and that they "are a direct threat to our potential for curbing the aggressive activity not only of the Soviet Union but also of any other country."

C. Trost's speech, UPI attests, was closed to the broad public so he could allow himself a certain frankness. "I feel a real threat," he said, "that, if the U.S. people do not understand the possible consequences fully enough, the question of naval arms control may be in the vortex of compromises." To avoid this turn of events he is fighting for the question of control over the navy to remain somewhere "in the background."

Let us be frank, the admiral's fears are not vain. The peoples, including the U.S. peoples, are seeking to free themselves of the heavy burden of arms and to achieve the further consolidation of confidence building measures and security. There is a growing understanding among people of the need to include the naval forces too in the process of arms and troop reduction. It is on this path that a sensible compromise can be achieved while observing the balance of interests of the sides.

The present U.S. Navy chief of staff, who fears the U.S. people's ability to make a sensible judgment about the disarmament process and the USSR's peace initiatives, might recall the words of another admiral, who once also held this responsible post. "Everything which I can see now in your country," Vice Admiral E. Zumwalt (retired), said recently while he was in Moscow, "merely convinces me that truly good relations can be established between the USSR and the United States and I would very much like to become part of that process." It does not look as though Admiral C. Trost has any such desire. He is not on that wavelength.

'Socialist' Conference Held in Varna

Opening Announced, Preview Given

PM2909124989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conference Opened"]

[Text] Sofia, 26 Sep—A conference of Central Committee secretaries of the socialist countries' fraternal parties for international questions opened in Varna today. The CPSU delegation is headed by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

For 3 days representatives of the fraternal parties will be discussing topical problems of the international situation, the development of socialism, and cooperation between socialist countries.

Opening the conference, Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, expressed the conviction that the Varna meeting will promote first-hand familiarization with the positions of the individual parties and contribute to the enrichment of viewpoints on key questions of the international development which will make it possible to perceive the processes which are under way in the world from different angles. This is particularly necessary now in the conditions of the rising importance of the problems of international relations and the historical changes which are emerging in world development.

At the same time, the speaker continued, the complex dialectics of interrelations between universal human and class values continue to operate. In this context, he noted, we would like to express our categorical view that the question of the class struggle cannot be eliminated from the activities of communist parties, irrespective of whether they are ruling parties, irrespective of the conditions in which they operate.

The transformations on which so much effort is currently being spent in the world of socialism are of historic importance for the destiny of our countries and our entire system, for the formation of the present-day nature of socialism in line with the demands and challenges of the 21st century, the speaker continued. It is our shared conviction that despite the obvious difficulties and problems in the present interconnected world, the role and responsibility of the countries of the socialist system is increasing rather than decreasing. Socialism has been presented with a historical challenge, it has been faced with the necessity to discharge the historic role which it has been assigned in the development of human civilization.

Today the meeting participants focused their attention on discussing the present international situation, collaboration between the fraternal parties, and the prospects of the all-European process in view of the new realities in the world.

Participants Listed, Agreements Reached

PM0210103389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Final Document Adopted"]

[Text] A conference of Central Committee Secretaries of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries on international questions took place in Varna, Bulgarian People's Republic, 26-28 September 1989. Taking part in it were:

From the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]: M. Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and D. Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee;

From the Vietnamese Communist Party [CPV]: Tran Xuan Bach, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPV Central Committee;

From the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]: H. Axen, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the SED Central Committee;

From the Workers' Party of Korea [WPK]: Ho Tam, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the WPK Central Committee;

From the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC]: J. Risquet, member of the Politburo and of the Secretariat of the PCC Central Committee;

From the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP]: Somlat Chanthamat, secretary of the LPRP Central Committee;

From the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party: Balhaajav Tserenpiliyn;

From the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]: W. Natorf, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee;

From the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]: I Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee;

From the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee;

From the Communist Party of Czechoslvakia [CPCZ] J. Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

G. Kotai, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee and director of its International Relations Department, took part in and spoke at the conference.

Also taking part were A.M. Subbotin, chief editor of the magazine PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM and senior staff members of the central committees of the fraternal parties.

The participants in the conference exchanged opinions on the present-day situation in the world and on the pressing questions of the international activities of their parties.

They noted that a struggle of two tendencies is felt on the world situation. On the one side, the desire is growing for detente, disarmament, and peace, and a search for sensible solutions to the modern world's problems in the interests of all the peoples. On the other side, the attempts of forces acting from imperialist positions to preserve the course for confrontation and tension and to carry on with the policy of pressure and diktat, and the build-up of arms and actions directed against socialism and peace are not weakening.

On the threshold of the last decade of the 20th century, possibilities for peaceful and constructive development of the international relations have been created which are wider than before. The first steps on the path of nuclear disarmament have been made, thanks to the energetic actions of the socialist countries and other peaceable and sensible forces that stand for establishing the new political thinking and new practices in international affairs. Positive changes in the direction of slackening tension are setting in; in different parts of the world prospects for regulating conflicts by political means and of developing political dialogue on different levels are appearing; the willingness of the world community to cooperate in the solution of ecological and other global problems is growing; trust and mutual understanding among the peoples are on the increase.

At the same time, the international situation gives no grounds for euphoria, remaining complex and contradictory. The positive processes have not yet become all-embracing and irreversible in character. In NATO, the doctrine of nuclear deterrence is being maintained. The increase and modernization of armaments; imperialist interference in the affairs of other states; military, political, and economic blackmail; and the intimidation of sovereign countries are continuing, and the economic gap and contradictions between the developing and advanced capitalist countries are becoming more intense.

A fundamental issue of our age is the halting of the arms race and disarmament; the banning and elimination of nuclear, chemical, and other types of weapons of mass destruction; the halting of nuclear tests and the militarization of space; and a substantial reduction in conventional armaments, troop numbers, and military expenditures.

Note was made of the link between peace, disarmament, and development. Support was given to the idea of switching the resources released as a result of the reduction of military spending and disarmament to the service of economic and social development, particularly of the economically underdeveloped countries.

An exchange of views took place on the prospects for the pan-European process, the building of an indivisible Europe, a stable peace and cooperation, and an "all-European home" alongside the diversity of social and state systems in the countries.

The establishment of new relations on the continent demands respect for the existing territorial and political realities and the sovereign equality of states, the steadfast application of the principles of national independence, full equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, and a renunciation of the policy of force or the threat of force.

The strengthening of security on the continent requires nuclear and conventional disarmament, joint constructive and responsible efforts, and the broadest cooperation of states and diverse sociopolitical forces and movements interested in the creation of a climate of detente, mutual understanding, and mutual trust. The need was stressed to give a decisive rebuff to the actions of revanchist and neo-Nazi forces, manifestations of chauvinism, and attempts to set countries and peoples against each other and sow enmity between them.

The participants in the conference exchanged views on the problems of contemporary socialism. They noted that the destinies of peace and social progress are closely connected with the dynamism of development of the socialist states, with the development of their all-round cooperation, with in-depth socio economic transformations, the processes of renewal, restructuring, and the perfection of socialism.

The conference drew attention to the historic role of the communist parties and to questions on the development and strengthening—in various forms—of socialist ownership for the purposes of building a new society.

The realities of our complex and dynamic age give rise to the objective necessity to strengthen the interaction, solidarity, and unity of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, something which meets the common interests and aspirations of the peoples of these countries.

It was reaffirmed once again that each party is creatively applying the principles of scientific socialism and taking into account the laws of socialist construction in accordance with its own specific circumstances, and that relations between parties are based on independence, equality of rights, and the independent action of each party and its responsibility to its own people.

The participants in the conference believe that the existing practice of interparty cooperation needs developing and perfecting further. Great significance is being assumed by the regular exchange of information, the popularization of the values of socialism and of gained experience, the holding of joint seminars and discussions, collective work on topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, the fulfilment of long-term cooperation programs, and so on.

The fraternal parties state that the attempts undertaken by imperialist and antisocialist forces to destabilize and weaken socialism and tendentiously to exploit the subject of human rights, inimical propaganda, and the slander of the socialist countries go against the interest of peace, security, and mutual understanding among peoples.

Those participating in the conference exchanged opinions in issues of the progress of the class struggle, and the defense of common human values in the interests of peace and social progress.

In connection with the situation that has arisen, those participating in the conference expressed the firm will of their parties to strengthen their cohesion even more and to oppose the offensive of imperialist reaction. They expressed their solidarity with those socialist countries that now are particularly subject to the attacks of imperialism, and particularly with the DPRK, Cuba, the GDR, and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Those parties represented at the conference expressed their willingness to continue strengthening interaction and solidarity with other communist and workers' parties on the basis of independence, equality, and respect for the right of each party to determine its political line independently. They are open to the widest cooperation in the interests of peace and progress with socialist and social democratic parties. The growing role of public, democratic, and antiwar movements in the creation of a world without wars or weapons was noted. The great significance of strengthening the communist and workers' parties' unity of action in the struggle to implement profound political and social transformations, and to confirm the new course of detente, disarmament, peace, and progress was stressed.

The role of the Nonaligned Movement as an independent force in international relations and its striving to take a still more active part in resolving the basic problems of disarmament and peace, establishing a new international economic order, and other global problems, which was demonstrated again at the recent Belgrade conference, were assessed highly.

The participants in the conference stressed that peace is indivisible, and that it should embrace all regions and countries. They noted the importance of the initiatives by the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries directed at setting up zones of peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation and zones free from nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction in various parts of the planet.

They advocated the political settlement of regional conflicts and hotbeds of tension through negotiations based respect for self-determination, sovereignty and the right of peoples to make sociopolitical choices freely and without outside interference. Solidarity was expressed with progressive, democratic, and patriotic forces struggling for the free, independent development of their countries.

Those participating in the conference expressed the resolution of their parties continually to act in the direction of solving complex and acute economic problems and establishing a new international economic order. They expressed their support for the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to strengthen national independence, eliminate neocolonial exploitation and dictatorship, overcome weak development, and resolve the acute problems of external debt. They also expressed their solidarity with the communists and all fighters for national and social liberation who are subject to persecution and respression on the part of the forces of reaction, racism and apartheid.

The participants in the conference confirmed the willingness of their parties to continue actively developing comprehensive cooperation and interaction in the international arena in the interests of the cause of socialism and peace.

The conference proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal mutual understanding and a free and businesslike exchange of opinions.

The participants in the conference expressed hearty thanks to the BCP for its good organization and conduct of the meeting.

At the proposal of the CPSU, the next conference will take place in Moscow.

Lushev Previews Pact Meeting in Warsaw 3-5 Oct

LD3009124889 Moscow TASS in Engish 1223 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS - Large-scale exchanges of experience in operational and combat troop training and the development of advanced training methods is a major area in the activity of the Warsaw Treaty Military Council, a Soviet general told TASS in connection with the forthcoming council meeting on October 3-5 in Warsaw.

Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty Allied Armed Forces, said that the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in Spring 1969 had determined the structure of the alliance's military bodies which, apart from the Military Council, include the Committee of Defence Ministers, the Joint Command, the Staff and the Technical Committee.

Lushev said the Military Council, which over the years had made a large contribution to the accomplishment of tasks of the armed forces' development and training, is holding an important place in the Warsaw Treaty's history.

The general pointed out that the Military Council has always directed its main efforts to fulfilling decisions of the Political Consultative Committee and the Defence Ministers' Committee aimed at improving the joint armed forces' readiness to defend Warsaw Treaty members.

The council "is holding an important place in the development of all-round military cooperation and the strengthening of the allied armies' cohesion and brotherhood-in-arms," Lushev said.

Moscow Proposes 'Politization' of Warsaw Pact

LD0110155689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1406 GMT 1 Oct 89

[By Aleksandar Novacic: "Moscow Proposes Changes in Warsaw Alliance"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Moscow, Oct 1 (TANJUG) In Moscow's view, the Warsaw Alliance must change from a Military-political alliance" into a "political-military' one, in answer to the new circumstances of detente between the East and the West.

The changes are not only a matter of terms. Emphasis has been laid on the Politization of the Warsaw Alliance," contrary to the previous decades, when stress was put on military goals.

The debate was opened by the NOVOYE VREMYA weekly, published in many languages and with a high circulation abroad, which invited Soviet and foreign authors to present their views on the problem.

The question of the future of the Warsaw Alliance comes at a time when some circles believe that the Eastern Bloc has "exhausted itself" in new conditions, at least as far as Soviet interests are concerned. NOVOYE VREMYA does not follow this train of thought and opposes the disbanding of the alliance, asking the question what would follow it and what would then guarantee stability in East Europe.

It would be thoughtless to assume that the present system of stability in the region could simply be preserved without the Warsaw Alliance, especially bearing in mind the internal problems in some East European countries which can affect their foreign policy as well, the Soviet weekly stresses.

The weekly says that the transformation of the Warsaw Alliance concerns the building of a "mature political alliance and the consistent overcoming of Stalinist heritage in relations with East Europe."

The weekly sees a "mature political alliance" as an alliance based on real, not formal, equality of member-countries. The Soviet Union mut energetically renounce all its past actions which have brought other countries in the position of satellites instead of allies.

The new political alliance must be based on the diversity of political institutions, social life and models of development. It must stop being a monolithic unity and grow into a "harmony of diversity."

The alliance must count not only on differences, but contradictions as well. Bearing in mind the latest trends in the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary, the Soviet weekly underlines the importance of "deinternationalization" of internal problems. "Today few people still link this with the possibility of Soviet interference or direct dictate from Moscow."

In the Soviet weekly's view, important obstacles stand in the way of the "politization" of the Warsaw Alliance. One of them is the rise of nationalist feelings in some regions, and the other is the fact that some member-countries are dominated by "reformers" and others by "traditionalists." The differences betwen them are increasing, and this makes coordination of action more difficult, the weekly says.

NOVOYE VREMYA proposes the setting up of a permanent "political headquarters of the alliance," which would act through a permanent secretariat under the leadership of the alliance general secretary. A permanent headquartrs of the Warsaw Bloc would help coordinate numerous contacts within the bloc, which is of special importance in the conditions of changes in socialist countries, since [words indistinct] the organisation of "Inter-bloc dialogue."

The Soviet weekly sees yet another advantage in this. The usual practice so far has been to resolve many issues in the Warsaw Alliance on the party level. The situation has now changed dramatically. In Poland, for example, communists are only a coalition partner in the government, and not even the most important one. A transition to the "state line" of cooperation would certainly be more effective.

TASS Reports Perfilyev News Briefing 29 Sep

Gorbachev's Upcoming Visit to Japan

LD2909153389 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—"The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the coming visit (the first time in the history of Soviet-Japanese relations) by the Soviet top leader to Japan," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

The Soviet-Japanese summit will be a major event in bilateral relations, which will positively influence the development of the international situation as a whole and in the Asian-Pacific region in particular, he noted.

Perfilyev noted that, during a meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama in New York on September 27, the Soviet side named the year 1991 as a possible time of a visit by the Soviet president to Japan.

The Soviet diplomat expressed satisfaction with the fact that this proposal evoked a positive response in Japan, including the country's leadership.

"The fact that the time for the top-level visit has been fixed, transfers the question of its detailed preparation to a practical footing, proceeding from an understanding reached by the sides that the visit may take place in the context of the general improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations," noted Perfilyev.

"We assume that both sides will work to create an appropriate atmosphere for the summit, adding it to weight and substance adequate to the level and importance of the event," the spokesman said in conclusion.

U.S. 'Soviet Military Power' Report

LD2909162689 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—Commenting on the publication by the U.S. Defence Department of the eighth edition of the booklet "Soviet Military Power," Vadim Perfilyev, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, said today:

Since 1981 this publication has evolved reflecting the gradual transition of Soviet-American relations to new, more constructive lines. Even compared with last year's issue, the booklet contains more moderate wording and not so bellicose rhetoric.

It should also be noted, the spokesman said, that this year the booklet includes a section on prospects for Soviet-American relations. The booklet says: "Today the likelihood of conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union is perhaps as low as it has been at any time in the post-war era." It is noted that there are opportunities to seek common ground with the Soviet Union, and that the United States and its allies should use these opportunities.

The booklet shows greater receptiveness to new international realities. This is indicated if only by a positive mention of new political thinking in international affairs which rejects reliance on military power as a means of achieving political ends.

All this shows that the Pentagon chiefs are moving away from outdated propaganda stereotypes. But it should also be noted that this process proceeds with difficulties and inconsistently. The assertion that "The Soviet military threat is still very much with us" can only be explained by the fact that confrontational approaches still remain. And this despite the fact that the booklet accepts the greater stability of Soviet-American relations and the heightening of the threat posed by regional sources of tension, the spokesman said.

Contacts between the USSR and the U.S. in the military area indicate that constructive interaction is the demand of the times. One would hope this tendency would manifest itself in such publications striving for objectivity as "Soviet Military Power," Perfilyev said.

Proposals for Talks, 1990 Summit

LD2909164789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Sep (TASS)—New proposals by the Warsaw Pact states that were officially submitted at the Vienna talks on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe on Thursday will facilitate the resolving of a major controversial issue that has come up at the talks, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing today.

He recalled that the socialist countries proposed in Vienna to discuss all types of frontline (tactical aviation) planes and to establish a ceiling of 4,700 planes for each military alliance. This limit, the Soviet diplomat added, will not include air defense planes, as they are used entirely for defense purposes. Besides, they have characteristic distinguishing features, which makes it easier to resolve the problem of verification.

The Soviet side, Vadim Perfilyev continued, is ready to give an opportunity to the Western inspectors to carry out the appropriate inspections on site. Moreover, the Soviet Union would also be ready to opt for establishing an agreed limit on air defense aviation.

Now the positions of the sides in respect of quantitative indicators for military helicopters, the Foreign Ministry spokesman added, practically coincide (1,900 units on each side).

Vadim Perfilyev also stressed the necessity of working out a strategy for accelerating the Vienna talks in order to conclude them during 1990. "With this end in view,"

he said, "we have proposed to the United States and other NATO countries to hold a top-level conference in the second half of 1990 in order to sign an agreement on conventional armed forces. In order to prepare for it, it would be advisable to organize a meeting of the foreign ministers of the countries which participate in the talks to resolve the most complex issues in Vienna at the beginning of next year."

UN Security Council Ministers Meet Perez de Cuellar

LD0110145989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Statement by the Foreign Ministers of the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council on the Results of a Meeting With the UN Secretary General"]

[Text] New York, 30 Sep—There has been an exchange of opinions on a wide range of key international issues among the foreign ministers of the five permanent members of the Security Council and UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. They also reviewed events over the period since their previous meeting with the secretary general on 28 September 1988. The ministers agreed that the United Nations has an important part to play at the present stage of the positive shift in the international climate away from confrontation toward the reduction of tension and toward collaboration among states.

The ministers placed special emphasis on efforts to resolve existing regional conflicts in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter. They noted with satisfaction the trend toward dialogue and the peaceful solution of disputes which has developed in recent years. They welcomed the United Nations' active involvement in this process.

The ministers expressed their firm adherence to the granting of Namibian independence by means of free and fair elections under UN auspices. They expressed resolute support for the secretary general in his efforts to ensure the full implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). They called on all interested parties to strictly observe all the commitments associated with the settlement plan.

After examining the development of the situation in the Near East the ministers declared support for the activation of the peace process leading to an all-embracing, just, and lasting peace in the region in which all interested parties would participate. They confirmed their full support for the efforts of the Arab League's tripartite committee aimed at bringing the Lebanese people's suffering to an end on the basis of the implementation of the Lebanese crisis settlement plan in all its aspects; a plan that guarantees Lebanon's full sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and national unity. In this connection they expressed the firm hope that the renewed dialogue among the Lebanese would develop constructively.

The ministers declared their support for the secretary general in his efforts to ensure the complete implementation by Iran and Iraq of Security Council Resolution 598 (1987) as an integral whole and urged both governments to cooperate with the secretary general to this end.

They confirnmed their support for the peace process in Central America on the basis of the agreement signed in Esquipulas and subsequent Central American states' agreements.

The ministers expressed their concern in connection with the current situation in Afghanistan and backed the secretary general's efforts to encourage and assist the speediest achievement of an all-embracing political settlement. They appealed to the parties concerned to conscientiously implement the Geneva agreements and also last year's UN General Assembly resolution.

The ministers examined the situation in Cambodia in the light of the outcome of the Paris conference. They came out in favor of an all-embracing political settlement which would safeguard Cambodia's independent, sovereign, and neutral status and also the continuation of the negotiating process geared to attaining this goal.

The ministers had an exchange of opinions on international cooperation in combating terrorism. They condemned all acts of terrorism in any form and also demanded the immediate and safe release of all hostages. The ministers called for the intensification of international cooperation aimed at halting illegal international drugs trafficking.

The ministers rated highly the UN peacekeeping operations, which, in their view, are evidence of the organization's vitally important role in preventing and settling regional conflicts. They stressed the importance of the effective implementation of these operations.

In the light of the Security Council's main responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, as bestowed on it by the UN Charter, the ministers expressed satisfaction with the improvement of working relations within the Council and also with the secretary general. They expressed their resolve to continue to work jointly and also in cooperation with the secretary general to prevent and resolve international conflicts.

The ministers expressed deep appreciation to the secretary general for his contribution to the cause of international peace and cooperation. They thanked him for the invitation to this meeting, which they regarded as a very useful opportunity to conduct an exchange of opinions.

Lawyers' Forum Against Nuclear Arms Reported

PM2909140189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Kharlanov dispatch: "Lawyers For Disarmament"]

[Text] The Hague, 26 Sep—The first world congress of the international association "Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms" has been going on for 3 days in the Hague.

All those who addressed the congress noted that there is no more important task for the legal profession now than to devote every effort to raising the struggle for banning nuclear weapons to a new level through legal means and the mobilization of public opinion. In many countries, including Japan, the United States, the USSR, France, and others, lawyers' organizations which have set themselves this noble aim have already been created.

The congress delegates formed eight working groups which examined the legal, political, and ecological aspects of the problem of nuclear arms control and phased reduction of these weapons right up to their complete elimination. Recommendations were drawn up on the establishment of nuclear-free zones, the conversion of military industry, and human rights including the right to survival and peace. A proposal won support to send an appeal to the UN General Assembly requesting that it recommend that the International Court in the Hague pass a decision declaring nuclear weapons illegal.

The working groups' recommendations were considered at plenary sessions. The congress formed the association's leading organs and adopted the Hague Declaration, which outlines the ways and means of of the struggle of the world's lawyers whose aim it is to outlaw nuclear weapons.

IAEA Meeting Focuses on Nuclear Engineering

LD3009023389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] In Vienna the 33d session of the general conference of International Atomic Energy Authority [IAEA] has ended. Viktor Mikheyev, our correspondent, reports:

[Mikheyev] The delegates from the 113 member states of IAEA first of all passed a plan for the work and the budget for the year 1990. Dr Hans Blix was confirmed for the next 4 years in the post of director general. The main thrusts of IAEA's work were mapped out. Aleksandr Nikolayevich Protsenko, the leader of the Soviet delegation and chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, speaks of the outcome of the general conference's work.

[Protsenko] As always, the IAEA conference held here examined very many issues relating to its work. These included issues concerned with the agency's continuing efforts in the sphere of compliance with the treaty on nuclear weapons—on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons—which technically speaking is implemented using a system of guarantees and inspections of nuclear facilities in the world. Many issues to do with the development of nuclear power engineering were examined at the conference. It should be said that, running parallel to the general conference was a scientific session, at which the steps being taken by states to build new-generation increased-safety reactors were examined. On the basis of these, a system of nuclear power engineering for the long-term may be founded.

We tabled a catalogue of proposals at the conference to improve the IAEA's work to improve the development of nuclear power engineering, and the conference delegates backed our proposal to set up in Chernobyl an international research center to study the consequences of the accident, and the steps that must be taken to eliminate these consequences. The world community could undertake effective research work in Chernobyl, and this would be a great contribution toward ensuring the continued safe development of nuclear power engineering.

Delegation Returns From Council of Europe Forum

PM2909121789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by A.P. Vladislavlev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Science, Public Education, Culture, and Upbringing, returned to Moscow from Strasbourg 25 September. It had been taking part in a session of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly in the capacity of "special guest" state.

United States & Canada

Reportage on Defense Minister Yazov's U.S. Visit

Pentagon Spokesman Details Visit

LD2909223189 Moscow TASS in English 2142 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Washington September 30 TASS—An official visit to the United States by Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Political Bureau and USSR defence minister, opens on Sunday, October 1. Yazov arrives here at the intivation of U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney.

An official spokesman for the Pentagon said this will be a first visit to the United States by a USSR defence minister, and expressed the opinion that this attests to the widening of contacts between the two countries in the military sphere.

Yazov is to meet representatives of the U.S. military and political leadership, specifically, the defence secretary and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to visit the Pentagon and Army units, and to address the National Defence University.

There are preliminary plans for his meeting with U.S. congressmen.

The spokesman for the U.S. department of defence said the Soviet minister will be accorded military honors at the main entrance of the Pentagon from the side of the Potomac. The minister will place flowers at the Unknown Soldier's Tomb at the Arlington Cemetery and will visit the place of one of the biggest battles of the times of the Civil War between the North and the South in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

The local press writes that the visit of the Soviet defence minister to the United States will promote the further development and widening of contacts along the military lines at a high level, will lead to the deepening of confidence and mutual understanding between the USSR and the United States.

The WASHINGTON TIMES, writing on Friday about the forthcoming visit of the USSR defence minister to the United States writes that this will be a historic visit.

Yazov Cited on Aims of Visit

PM0110221189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Deepening Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] On 1 October Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, leaves for the United States on an official visit at the invitation of U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney. On the eve of his departure from Moscow he gave an interview to a TASS correspondent:

"The aim of the upcoming visit to the United States, as I see it, is primarily to further deepen mutual understanding and trust between our countries in such an important sphere of interstate relations as security. I would also consider it necessary to view the visit not as an isolated event but in the general context of the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, which are becoming increasingly dynamic. This applies also, of course, to military contacts.

"Everyone can see today the kind of threat armed conflicts and and wars pose for all states and peoples. That is why, in modern international relations, political dialogue based on a balance of interests, reasonable compromise, and the primacy of general human values must occupy the paramount position. I believe that during the upcoming visit it will be possible through joint efforts to make a definite contribution to further improving the general atmosphere of our relations.

"The U.S. side has drawn up a very full and interesting program for our stay. The main items are meetings and conversations with the leaders of the U.S. Defense Department and U.S. Armed Forces. Visits to some military facilities are planned, as well as familiarization with the life and training of U.S. servicemen.

"In the history of Soviet-U.S. relations there are such unforgettable chapters as the joint struggle against fascism in the last war. Both the experience of history and the political practice of recent years show that the more open we are toward one another the stronger mutual trust will be and the easier it will be to tackle the most complex and acute issues, establish the ideas of the new political thinking, and jointly pave the way to a nuclear-free and nonviolent world."

Yazov Makes Arrival Statement in Washington

LD0210022589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0100 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Washington, 2 Oct (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash reports: Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau, USSR minister of defense, arrived on Sunday in the U.S. capital on an official visit at the invitation of U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney. He was met at Andrews Air Base near Washington by R. Cheney and other officials. Yu.V. Dubinin, the USSR ambassador to the United States, was among those who met him.

Greeting the Soviet minister, R. Cheney said: We are very pleased at your visit. The first visit to the United States by a USSR Defense Minister is of special and outstanding significance. We are also pleased at the fact that your arrival in the United States is an event of historic significance and therefore we welcome you, Mr Minister, to the United States.

We will hold discussions in Washington that will present an opportunity to deepen mutual understanding between

our countries, to get to know each other better, and to obtain a better idea of the Soviet Union's policies in the security sphere.

On behalf of the U.S. Government and people I say to you "Welcome" to the United States. I also express the hope that our discussions will be useful and will contribute to the development of even more productive relations between our two countries.

Expressing gratitude to the U.S. Government for its invitation and his thanks for the cordial welcome, D.T. Yazov said: We regard the visit that is starting today as being in the general course of Soviet-U.S. relations which in recent years have been acquiring increasing dynamism, primarily because of the fruitful summits. In accepting the invitation to visit the United States of America we were proceeding from the premise that our visit would be of service to further progress in the direction of strengthening mutual understanding and trust between our countries in the military sphere.

Probably no one has any doubts about the importance of contacts in this sphere. Even nonmilitary people now understand what confrontation, armed conflicts, and wars are fraught with for states and peoples and for all of humanity. For this reason political dialogue, based on a balance of interests, reasonable compromise, and the priority of universal human values must evidently occupy a dominating position in contemporary international relations.

The history of Soviet-U.S. relations is not straightforward. Its contradictory palette contains almost the whole range of colors. It also contains the experience of cooperation in the military sphere, carefully preserved in the memories of our peoples, when we, shoulder to shoulder as allies, defeated our common enemy during the last war, fascism.

The present time insistently demands that we augment and step up our experience of cooperation, jointly solving problems, and searching constructively for solutions that are suitable both to our people and the whole world. If both sides proceed from this premise, then stable and dynamic Soviet-U.S. relations, including in the military sphere, will become a reality.

We have before us an interesting and rich program for our visit. We hope that it will be successfully carried out.

Pentagon's 'Military Power' Book 'Contradictory'

LD2909144789 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

The eighth edition of the Pentagon's "Soviet Military Power" pamphlet is definitely of interest as indicating the new U.S. leadership's posture in strategic military matters, but the impression after reading it is contradictory.

On the one hand, it pays tribute to profound changes in Soviet- U.S. relations and signs of progress in the field of arms control and reduction. The far-fetched characterisations of Soviet policy that were previously employed to cultivate the USSR's "enemy image" are no longer to be found.

The pamphlet acknowledges far-reaching Soviet initiatives in domestic, foreign and military policies, marking meaningful shifts in the USSR's strategy and tactics for achieving its national goals.

One noteworthy conclusion is that the probability of conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union is at its lowest level in the post-war years.

But even if toning down their rhetoric and updating the form of presentation, the booklet's authors still failed to abandon outdated stereotypes and overcome the desire to misrepresent the overall correlation of forces, as wanted by those battling for the proposed Pentagon budget on Capitol Hill.

This was also pointed out by CBS Television, which remarked that now that the probability of superpower military conflict is small, while that of superpower treaties is great, U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney will find it increasingly hard to find good reasons for a Pentagon budget topping 300 billion dollars.

The latest edition's subtitle "Prospects for Change" replaces the previous one's ominous "an assessment of the threat" but the word "threat" is still to be encountered in the first pages.

Most importantly, the pamphlet is meant by all its contents to support the conclusion that Soviet military capability remains the main threat to U.S. security.

We, in the Soviet Union, are abandoning the propaganda stereotypes of the past and I do not deny that this country does have powerful military potential.

Soviet military capability does enable the USSR to rebuff any aggression. What is surprising, though, is the U.S. military leadership's attitude to the problem.

In fact, the United States too boasts no smaller military power, which can for this reason be viewed as the main threat to Soviet security. This is what strategic military parity is all about under the "nuclear deterrence" strategy.

Differences between the military policies of the USSR and the United States, which are, alas, completely ignored in the pamphlet, consist in the following: The Soviet Union firmly and consistently calls for renouncing any deterrence, which is why it considers it necessary, on a reciprocal basis with NATO countries, to get rid of nuclear weapons altogether and reshape conventional armed forces to meet the criteria of reasonable defence sufficiency.

By contrast, the United States seeks at all costs to ensure something else, namely that the "deterrence" strategy remains intact.

This is the message of the Pentagon pamphlet: It is important to maintain a successful NATO strategy and collective efforts based on a strong military deterrent.

Regrettably, the pamphlet overlooks the most important thing—the causes behind the continuing high-level military opposition—and concentrates not on substantiating the need to jointly remove existing disproportions in the sides' armed forces but on making the Americans concerned about their country's security.

This is totally at odds with the new atmosphere in Soviet- American relations following the Wyoming talks between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state.

President Bush Cited on Soviet-U.S. Relations

PM3009170989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "USSR-United States: Promising Results"]

[Text] Washington, 30 Sep—"The ice has begun to break in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union as a result of reciprocal visits by representatives of the U.S. and Soviet military," President George Bush said during a farewell ceremony for retiring chairman of the U.S..Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William Crowe. During his speech he gave a positive evaluation of the exchange of friendly visits by ships of the U.S. and Soviet navies.

At a farewell ceremony on Friday at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis (Maryland) W. Crowe noted, in particular, the great significance of the upcoming official visit to the United States by Army General D.T. Yazov. Military contacts are valuable, the admiral said, in terms of "improving the climate" and holding mutual discussions between the two countries.

'Top Priority' Program on U.S.-USSR Relations

LD3009164389 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 30 Sep 89

["Top Priority" program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov with Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov]

[Text] How do you do ladies and gentlemen, welcome to Top Priority. I'm your host, Pavel Kuznetsov, and with me in the studio are Doctors Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov. Radomir, you were not with us during an extra edition of Top Priority on Soviet-American relations. I understand now that you have moved to the Peace Committee you are busy consolidating world peace and you, you have to travel alot. So, but this time we are going to take another look at Soviet-American relations for one big reason: the bridging of Soviet and American positions on key arms control issues continues to be widely discussed around the world, and of course in our two countries, and the most recent example was an announcement by Oleg Grinevskiy who is chief Soviet negotiator at the talks on conventional disarmament in Europe that the Warsaw Treaty has broadened the categories of aircraft over which it is prepared to negotiate. And according to Mr Grinevskiy there could be a meeting of foreign ministers of the two blocs next year to resolve the outstanding issues. So, among other things I think this bridging of relations, of positions between the two countries can be explained by the fact that both of them seek stability in the turbulency of world events. You know that the United States claims it is not going to exploit the separatist trends in the Baltic republics because that might throw Soviet-American relations back to the worse periods of the cold war, and the Soviet Union wants stability for many reasons, one of them being the high cost of getting involved, and by getting involved I do not necessarily only mean physically involved, but political or financial involvement as well. So, if my assessment is correct, if you agree with it, even if with reservations, are we going to have a lasting Soviet-American rapprochement, or is it something fragile, something determined by political expediency, something that's going to crumble down under the impact of an abrupt change? What do you think, Sergey?

[Plekhanov] No, I think that we are in for a rather long-term period of gradual improvement in Soviet-American relations, and I think that the indications are from the arms reduction talks, from the various forms about the impending breakthroughs, about the shifts in positions which lead us closer to the agreements. I think all these indications demonstrate that there is something like a new structure of Soviet-American relations being built, being formed. A structure which would be more in line with the realities of the world—a post cold war world—which can no longer be described through ideas like world competition between East and West, and the bilateral, bipolar structures, [words indistinct] Soviet-American military competition, and so on. This world is different and Soviet-American relations are being restructured according to these new realities. And of course the process will be very complex, zig-zagged, there'll be steps forward and steps back, its not a linear development. But I think the vector is clearly towards an improvement and a more peaceful relationship.

[Kuznetsov] Let me pick up on that. When I mentioned the turbulency of world events, of course I meant sweeping changes occurring in Eastern Europe, in general and in particular in Poland and in Hungary. Some people say, some analysts predict, that if something similar to that, even remote to what's happening in Poland and Hungary is going to take place in the German Democratic Republic, things may change radically in Europe—those strong trends in Western Germany, in West Germany, for reunification are something, that for political reasons, we—I think—are not prepared to tolerate, at least for the time being. What do you think?

[Bogdanov] Well, I, this is a very delicate and very difficult question....

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, I understand it's such a good question that it's still on the agenda.

[Bogdanov] You know this is very difficult question, this is very difficult question, first of all, because for so many decades we even didn't dare to touch that question. We thought that didn't exist anymore. Now when you touch upon that question and if you, as you put it, look at this turbulent world, you feel little a bit uneasy.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah.

[Bogdanov] In case that [reunification of Germany] happens, what will that mean for Europe? My answer is very simple. That, that...

[Kuznetsov] Not only for Europe but for Soviet-American relations because we, we still see each other as, as leaders of the opposing alliances.

[Bogdanov] Yes, but, you know, yes, well I'm not so sure about the leader, who are leaders, who are not leaders, this is another question. But I just don't believe, I do not believe as an historian by training with some philosophical, you know, colouring in my thinking, I do not believe that that is possible in the forseeable future; that such revolutionary, abrupt changes as reunification of Germany is possible now because of many, many factors. But I would like to come back to your first question when you put that very interesting probelm. Why, why such changes in the Soviet-American relations?

[Kuznetsov] Yes.

[Bogdanov] [Word indistinct] You may, I may suggest, I may offer another logic.

[Kuznetsov] Okay.

[Bogdanov] The Soviet Union has its troubles. The Soviet Union has its difficulties. The Soviet Union is not as powerful as ever as one can remember....

[Kuznetsov] As we thought it was.

[Bogdanov] Yeah. Now, what is the logic of any, of any conventional power relations? If you are weak, if you have trouble, just pinpoint and try to, you know, get as many concessions as you can and create as many troubles as you can? No, you have, you witness a little bit a different picture. You witness what I would call a statesman-like behaviour, responsible behaviour of the American leadership. Maybe this is my...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Yeah, but one of the, one of the explanations, one of the reasons behind it, according ot a new edition of 'Soviet Military Power,' the Soviet Union irrespective of its domestic problems, retains enormous military power and is the only nation that really threatens the existence of the United States. That is why, I mean this explains the careful approach to, not only to domestic problems in the Soviet Union but to Soviet-American relations in general.

[Bogdanov] That's what, I agree with you, that, that's what I am going...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] So, that, that's what the Americans themselves say. Okay.

[Bogdanov] That's what I'm going to say. That it's not because, you know...

[Kuznetsov] And that is why arms control has become such an important area where there's been so much progress these days. Okay. Let's turn to two specific breakthroughs in Soviet-American relations and in arms control in general. And the number one thing is the Soviet decoupling or separation of two major issues: strategic arms and the ABM Treaty. Now the situation is that the Soviet Union and the United States can go ahead and prepare a draft of a START treaty without looking back on the ABM Treaty, on the situation with the ABM Treaty, and we know that it's not simple. There's still a power struggle in the United States over the interpretation, of how to interpret that treaty. We know the initial, the narrow interpretation is being contested by those who support the broad interpretation. Another issue with regard to that treaty is that what is now allowed for testing under the ABM Treaty, and what is not allowed for testing, because some time ago Mikhail Gorbachev was understood as saying that we have become more lax with regard to testing of some components on the ground and so on and so forth. The Soviet move to decouple these two issues has been described as a major concession. What have we really accomplished with that concession, with that move? Have we reduced the value of the role of SDI as a major bargaining chip in Soviet-American talks on strateic arms or have we played along, helped those people in the United States Congress who oppose the system and keep slashing funds for it? Now, what (?if it)...

[Bogdanov] We should make, we should make it, first of all we should make it absolutely clear: SDI, this is not our problem.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, I know, Yeah.

[Bogdanov] This is American business. Our problem is the ABM Treaty. Now...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] The ABM Treaty. We discussed it on the previous program and we said well, no matter how we look at it the ABM Treaty stands in the way of the SDI and that is why all this turmoil...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Yes, if you, if you feel like calling this a great concession, a great Soviet concession.

[Kuznetsov] No.

[Bogdanov] I don't mean you personally, I mean some other people. If they feel like saying, look Soviets made a great concession. Okay, let it be a great concession. But,

I think, and that is my strong belief, there is no concession. This is very normal development of relations between two great countries. They were negotiating absolutely hopeless business for so many years. And...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] When the two issues were tied together.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, tied together. And they at last they became smart enough to say: Forget about it, let's separate it, let's separate it. Where is the concession, you say? Okay. I sign a 50 percent treaty without ABM all this [word indistinct] but at the same time you state one very important thing: in case there is a violation of the ABM Treaty I am entitled to go out. [words indistinct]

[Kuznetsov] Of the START treaty; Yes.

[Bogdanov] Number one step. Number two: the ABM Treaty should stay as long as it's meant to stay. So, where is this, you know, [word indistinct]? This is just, just, you know....

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, some people, some senators say the Soviet Union has outsmarted the Bush administration on that. Mr Aspin says that, well the SDI was swooped upon as a tool, as a powerful means to put pressure to bear on the Soviets to make them slash by half the number of their heavy SS-18 missiles which are seen as the most dangerous, destabilizing weapon, the most dangerous threat to the United States. Now, with these two things decoupled the SDI is no longer a tool of pressure it's just something (?unamerican) [word indistinct].

[Bogdanov] [words indistinct] I'm so happy you've given the message.

[Kuznetsov] What is your opinion, Sergey?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think that progress at, progress on the issues of reduction of strategic nuclear, offensive nuclear forces, all the missiles and limits and sublimits, has been rather substantial. So, on that track the train is moving ahead. And that is a most important thing. We can at this point, at this stage, we can decouple the two issues. That does not mean that we forget about the dangers that the SDI poses for the ABM treaty. That does not reduce our committment to the ABM Treaty. In fact, one can make the case that if you drop the idea of extending the ABM Treaty for a certain number of years then you actually make your commitment to the treaty stronger because the treaty originally was signed without any time limitation, it was signed forever.

[Kuznetsov] (?Yes, yes)

[Plekhanov] And when we started saying: Okay, let's extend it for 10 years, let's keep it for 10 years, there were people in the United States and in the Soviet Union who said look, you're weakening your support for the treaty because it was supposed to be forever and now you're saying just 10 years.

[Kuznetsov] Gentlemen, another point, a good point and good news actually is the almost identical positions of Moscow and Washington on chemical weapons. The only difference being that we would like to include in the proposed elimination of those weapons all sorts, all kinds of chemical weapons, including binary weapons, while the United States would like to preserve 2 percent of its current stockpile as a deterrent against a surprise attack by a third nation.

[Plekhanov] Colombia, for instance.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah. Differences not withstanding, or Libya, let's get more serious than that. But, differences not withstanding it's a good thing. The main issue is now their proliferation. We know from the treaty on the nuclear nonproliferation that it has failed, it didn't have a mechanism to stop other nations to acquire the capability for nuclear weapons. And now, since we know that making mustard gas is easy, a lot easier than making an atomic bomb...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] You just eat a pound of mustard and you get mustard gas.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, but we have to agree on some sort of safeguards, and a mechanism that would compel or provide incentives for other countries to join in a global ban on those weapons. Now, how can we go about creating such a mechanism? Doing something between ourselves as a first step toward working out a more...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] First, first of all we should finish our business, our, between ourselves.

[Kuznetsov] And stop quarrelling.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, stop quarrelling and come down to business.

[Kuznetsov] You mean set an example.

[Bogdanov] Set an example for, for (?the rest) of the world, and we suggest very serious things; inspections, for instance. Inspections before you sign; before you sign, you open your arsenal, before you sign, before you have a guarantee that it would be ever signed. It means that you draft gentlemen-like behavior, responsibility, on such a high level that you do that. Now, if you succeed in that and I believe we would succeed in that, I would be very much surprised if any irresponsible small or big country would dare, would dare to violate some kind of a international order which might be created within the UN. UN, that's the (?barrel) of the world order and why not chemicals? Would be there as a kind of a...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] There's another way to tighter control on the export of technology to the Third World.

[Bogdanov] Yes, yes exactly.

[Kuznetsov] Like to exclude such things as say West Germany providing a West German company providing some technology to Libya, to build up so-called pharmaceutical [word indistinct].

[Bogdanov] You create kind of (?marketing), you create kind of (?marketing) agency for chemicals. I think [words indistinct].

[Plekhanov] And you enforce the chemical-free order [words indistinct].

[Kuznetsov] Now, another positive development is our eager response to President Bush's idea of an "open sky" policy. We've responded with an open land and given an open space [words indistinct].

[Plekhanov] Yeah, we responded with vengeance. A transparent world, and transparent and verifiable world, open air, open sky.

[Kuznetsov] Is this, is this feasible in your view, Sergey?

[Plekhanov] Well, ultimately of course it's feasible, I think, I mean...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Look, you put that question, is this feasible? This is already done!

[Kuznetsov] (?In) open space? [laughs]

[Bogdanov] Yes!

[Plekhanov] Well, (?not) satellites....

[Bogdanov] [words indistinct] You, how many satellites are flying over? Thousands and thousands. And I wonder what you can [words indistinct].

[Kuznetsov] Gentlemen, it's not that simple [words indistinct].

[Plekhanov] No, you, what you can do is guarantee the safety of the satellites and that means not developing [words indistinct].

[Kuznetsov] There are so many other things like classified launches of American space shuttles carrying secret cargoes, you know, nobody knows about what they're carrying on board, so I mean...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Right, but this is rather...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Intelligence satellites is just part of the picture. Okay, gentlemen as time is running out on us I have this last, final question. We know that the United States Congress plays a crucial role in determining many, many, many things and in particular, it makes crucial decisions on defense spending and on the kind of weapons to be procured, on expenditure and so on. Now, what about the Soviet parliament? As far as I understand it's busy doing something else and those people are not trained. Our legislators don't know much about foreign policy. Is that correct and how is it going to...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] I think there is, there is a...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Currently we're (?having) this session which is doing what, Sergey?

[Plekhanov] No, I think that the committees which deal with foreign relations are working.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, yeah.

[Plekhanov] Recently they discussed, for instance, the problem of...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] There's just one committee, but the rest of the legislators are not trained in foreign policy.

[Plekhanov] Right, well, you know I wouldn't exaggerate the level of expertise of most American members of congress on foreign policy.

[Bogdanov] But they have [words indistinct].

[Plekhanov] That's the most importance difference. The staff, the staff in the United States Congress is very strong in terms of expertise on foreign and defense policies, and we are creating similar capabilities for our parliament but I would like to emphasize that there are a number of legislators in the new Soviet parliament who are very well equipped and knowledgeable and are involved in the making of foreign policy.

[Kuznetsov] They are much more equipped with duelling and grappling with domestic problems.

[Plekhanov] Well, of course, that's on, at the top of the agenda.

[Kuznetsov] The cooperatives, deficits, what else?

[Plekhanov] Wage freezes.

[Kuznetsov] Wage freezes and the role of the unions and what have you.

[Plekhanov] Yes, yeah.

[Kuznetsov] Our time is up. I thank Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov for coming to our studio to discuss Soviet-American relations. I am your host Pavel Kuzentsov signing off and on behalf of Top Priority I invite you to tune in again to our program next week at the same time and on the same wavelength. Goodbye.

U.S. Barge Still Aground in Chukchi Sea

LD0210104989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1005 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Vladivostok, 2 Oct (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Konoplitskiy reports:

For nearly 10 days a big U.S. barge has lain aground in the Chukchi Sea and is slowly sinking into the silt. It broke loose from its tug in a storm on 21 September and was spotted on 24 September by the Soviet diesel electric

vessel "Kapitan Kondratyev." The captain of a U.S. tug which arrived on the scene refused the Soviet seamen's offer to help with the salvage operations and asked for permission to do it himself. Permission was given. But for unknown reasons the tug did not start work. Big Soviet icebreakers "Moskva" and "Ivan Moskvitin" went to the area of the accident. But they, too, were asked not to help refloat the barge. Nor are the Americans themselves in a hurry. In the opinion of Soviet experts, unless extreme measures are taken in the next few days, it will be practically impossible to save the ship.

Soviet, U.S. Counterterrorism Experts Confer

PM2909121189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Eradicating Terrorism"]

[Text] San Franscisco, 26 Sep—The first unofficial meeting of Soviet and U.S. experts in counterterrorism has opened in Los Angeles. The Soviet delegation includes, among others, former leading staffers of the USSR KGB—F.A. Shcherbak, former head of a KGB subdivision, and V.V. Zvezdenkov, who for many years headed the subdivision for combating terrorism. Taking part in the discussion on the U.S. side are former leaders of the CIA—ex-Director William Colby, and former Deputy Director Ray Cline.

The KGB and the CIA have their own specific tasks, F.A. Shcherbak said. However, there is no doubt about the fact that active cooperation in the sphere of preventing terrorism could begin in the very near future.

In the course of the talks, which will last a week, the LOS ANGELES TIMES writes, Soviet and U.S. experts will discuss questions pertaining to the exchange of intelligence information and ways of cooperation in preventing terrorist activities and hostage-taking. It is planned to follow up the current meeting with a similar discussion in Moscow next January.

Commentary Assesses Quayle's Tour of Asia

PM0210134189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 First Edition p 5

[Article by Aleksandr Golts under the rubric "Observer's Opinion": "Dan Quayle on the 'Cutting Edge'"]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle's tour of Asian countries has ended. Actually, essentially it was rather an inspection tour of U.S. military bases in the Asian and Pacific region. Quayle visited outposts of the U.S. Armed Forces in South Korea, the Philippines, and Japan. As for talks with the heads of government of these countries, for all the differences in Washington's approach to their problems, Quayle invariably put forward questions of cooperation "in the interests of security." Even in Malaysia, where there are no U.S. bases, the question of siting U.S. military bases in neighboring Singapore was raised, something which is resolutely opposed by the Malaysian leadership.

Special attention was paid in South Korea to the theme of the U.S. military presence. This year not only many of its inhabitants but also a number of eminent U.S. legislators are expressing the most serious doubts as to the need for the presence of over 40,000 U.S. servicemen there. After all, it is a case of a grouping equipped with the most sophisticated weapons, including nuclear weapons, a grouping which is deployed in the region of a chronic regional conflict.

The vice president, however, had no intention of talking with the South Korean Government about ways of resolving this conflict. He hastened to assure the South Korean leadership that the United States' commitments in the field of "safeguarding security" remain unshakable and they cannot be influenced by debates in Congress on the question of the presence of U.S. Armed Forces in South Korea.

And to demonstrate once more Washington's resolve to remain here forever, Quayle went to a U.S. troops disposition close to the demilitarized zone. Addressing the soldiers there, he accused the DPRK of aggressive intentions, although it was Pyongyang which carried out a unilateral reduction of its armed forces and is consistently putting forward specific proposals aimed at lowering the level of military confrontation in the region.

But accusations against the people's Korea did not seem enough to Quayle. He complained that the Soviet Union "is too frequently rejecting the opportunity to play a constructive part in easing regional tension." The vice president went so far as to say: "As in Central America and in Afghanistan, here, too, the deeds of the Soviet Union under Gorbachev's leadership are a mockery of assertions of the new thinking." But Quayle's assertions themselves are a mockery, a mockery of common sense. After all, it is not Soviet but U.S. troops which are in Korea thousands of miles from their national territory. And it is these troops which are one of the main sources of instability. After all they are by no means intended to defend South Korea. Quayle himself indirectly admitted as much when he called them "the cutting edge of the sword of U.S. military might."

He delivered similar speeches when he moved to another "cutting edge." Not of a "sword" but of a "lance." Cutting edge of the lance" is the name which Pentagon documents give to the 432d tactical wing of the U.S. Air Force stationed at the Misawa Air Base in Japan. I recall that this is where 50 nuclear-capable F-16 fighter bombers are stationed, intended to deliver strikes to the Soviet Far East. As NHK television reports, the vice president surveyed with "enthusiasm" the base where hangars capable of withstanding any attack are installed for the U.S. aircraft. It is highly indicative that, when he addressed the base, Quayle stressed Misawa's importance as a stronghold for U.S. forward basing strategy.

During talks with Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu, Quayle asserted that it is military cooperation which serves as the basis of bilateral relations and, obviously anxious to reinforce these relations, in fact supported the Japanese Government's territorial claims against the Soviet Union. And that despite the fact that the USSR's ownership of the South Kurile Islands is confirmed by, for instance, the Yalta agreements, which were also signed by the United States.

Quayle's visit to the Philippines merged into a campaign to put pressure on that country's government. It is here that the United States' largest military facilities abroad are situated: the Subic Bay Naval Base and the Clark Field Air Base. The lease on them expires in 1991. And the demand for the removal of the U.S. bases is gathering increasing strength in the country. Nor does the Philippine Government rule out this possibility. But the Americans, including Quayle, are intimidating President C. Aquino by claiming that the elimination of the U.S. bases will create a strategic vacuum in Asia and will have fatal consequences for the country's future.

It is evidently no accident that Quayle's visit coincided with the "PACEX-89" maneuvers, unprecedented in scale, which have been launched in the Pacific. And if one of the maneuvers' aims is the practical coordination of the actions of the Armed Forces of U.S. allies in Asia, the U.S. vice president lends a political meaning to this. This indicates yet again that the United States sees in the Asian and Pacific region a kind of nature reserve for the "cold war." A region from which, even under the conditions of the warming of the international climate, it is possible to exert strong-arm pressure against the USSR.

Zorin Views U.S. 'Blunders' in Afghanistan

LD0110025589 Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Now it's time for Moscow viewpoint written by Valentin Zorin. Many in the United States and elsewhere speak of blunders in America's Afghanistan policy or to put it more exactly of errors made by CIA analysts. The Soviet Union's announcement about troop withdrawals from Afghanistan gave rise to immediate speculations as to what was likely to happen when the Afghan Government and the rebels were left face to face to sort it out.

CIA forecasts, however, led the administration astray. The department at Langley tried hard to persuade the White House that the Najibullah government would collapse as soon as it was left to face the mujahidins on its own.

Valentin Zorin writes that he was in the United States at the time and could witness the political environment prevailing in Washington. Forecasts about the inevitable fall of the Kabul government made behind the scenes in congress, at newspaper editing offices, and universities had all been unanimous, albeit varied in timing. The rumors, no doubt, came from sources close to the intelligence department.

Worse than that was the administration's unequivocal acceptance of the CIA's assessment of the situation in Afghanistan which predetermined its line at all-round support for the rebels including arms shipments, and its backing of the so-called transitional government of Afghanistan set up in Pakistan.

However, 7 months on after the Soviet withdrawal the Najibullah government is as strong as ever and enjoys widespread support by farmers, intellectuals, clergy, and by many tribal leaders. But with that widespread support no amount of weapons could help the government defeat the mujahidin, well armed at the cost of U.S. taxpayers.

Washington seems to be unwilling to accept what is evident to many and continues to cling to its old attitude in respect of the Afghan war based on erroneous judgements of the past. Continued shipment of weapons to the rebels is in contradiction with America's commitments under the Geneva accords as a guarantor of the Afghan peace agreement. On the other hand, by rejecting the Soviet proposal on halting arms supplies to both sides the U.S. helps in effect towards further bloodshed in that country.

China

Shevardnadze, Qian Qichen Meet at UN in New York

LD0110103289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Oct 89 p 3

[Report under general heading: "Continuation of Dialogue"]

[Text] A thorough conversation took place on 30 September between E.A. Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen, foreign minister of the People's Republic of China.

The historical significance of M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to the PRC in May 1989 and of his talks with Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders was stressed on both sides.

A steady development in Soviet-Chinese contacts has occurred since the summit meeting. The ministers discussed plans for further contacts at various levels, including high levels.

They expressed confidence that the Soviet-Chinese dialogue has good prospects. This applies, in particular, to talks on border issues, and likewise to the first meeting, in November this year, of experts from the two countries on the problem of removing elements of military confrontation from Soviet-Chinese relations.

A number of regional problems were studied. During the discussion on the Cambodian settlement, a common opinion was expressed on the need to search for a political solution, primarily through an inter-Khmer dialogue. Given corresponding preparations, the possibility was mentioned of organizing a second stage for an international conference on Cambodia.

Matters concerning Afghanistan, the Near East, and southern Africa were also touched upon.

E.A. Shevardnadze informed Qian Qichen in detail about the outcome of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Wyoming.

The Soviet minister warmly congratulated Qian Qichen on the 40th anniversary of the formation of the People's Republic of China. The significance of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and PRC, which is marked at the beginning of October, was stressed on both sides.

40th Anniversary of PRC Formation Celebrated

Party, State Bodies Send Greetings

PM3009154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 89 First Edition p 2

[Soviet Party, State Bodies Greet PRC leaders on Republic's 40th Anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee
To Comrade Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC
To Comrade Wan Li, chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee
To Comrade Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council

Esteemed comrades!

On behalf of the Soviet people we send cordial congratulations to you and, through you, to the entire Chinese people on the Chinese people's national holiday—the 40th anniversary of the formation of the People's Republic of China.

The proclamation of people's power in China was the logical outcome of the Chinese working people's revolutionary struggle for their national and social liberation. After experiencing grim ordeals, the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China, were victorious and rapidly achieved major successes in building a new China. The birth of a new socialist state—the PRC—in the world arena was an event of worldwide historic significance.

The CPC and the Chinese working people are currently engaged in tackling tasks of socialist modernization. On the basis of the conditions in their country, they are carrying out profound transformations geared to strengthening the foundations and revealing the potential of socialist society.

Soviet people nurture feelings of deep sympathy and respect for the Chinese people. The past 40 years have convincingly demonstrated that good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation between our neighboring peoples are in their fundamental interests and the interests of the entire world community.

The normalizaiton of relations between the USSR and the PRC is opening up a qualitatively new stage in relations between the two countries. Links have been re-established between the CPSU and the CPC. New prospects have emerged for deeper collaboration between the two states in economy, trade, science, and technology, and in widening contacts between social organizations.

We express confidence that cooperation in the spirit of good-neighborliness between the Soviet Union and China will continue to develop for the benefit of the Soviet and Chinese peoples and in the interests of peace in Asia and in the world as a whole.

We wish you, esteemed comrades and all the working people of the PRC, new successes in socialist building. We wish the friendly Chinese people well-being and prosperity. CPSU Central Committee

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
USSR Council of Ministers

Yazov Greets PRC Defense Minister

PM3009171589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Defense Minister Yazov greets PRC counterpart on PRC anniversary]

[Text] To PRC Defense Minister Colonel General Comrade Qin Jiwei

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and on my own account I send sincere congratulations and good wishes to you and to the troops of the People's Liberation Army of China on your national holiday—the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

TASS Reports Anniversary Celebrations

LD0110095789 Moscow TASS in English 0939 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Beijing October 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Kirilov and Vyacheslav Tomilin:

The Chinese people mark today the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Many hundred thousands of Beijing citizens participate in festivities at parks and squares of the Chinese capital.

The city is decked with bright panels and slogans made of live flowers: "Long live national holiday", "Stability and unity" and "10,000 years to Chinese Communist Party".

A sculptural group of a worker, peasant, soldier and intellectual, symbolising the unity of Chinese society, was put up specially for the anniversary in the Tiananmen Square which is now open for visitors.

The central stands at the square are graced with the portraits of the new China's founders: Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De. The huge portraits of Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the 1911 democratic revolution, towers in the square's centre.

The art festival became the focal item of the holiday: singers, dancers, acrobats and puppet troupes perform at theatres and in the open. Fashion shows are arranged. The famous dragon dance with dozens of performers participating is rendered at junctions of bustling streets. Traffic is controlled by policemen sporting cream-coloured service jackets, a new uniform.

Experts in ancient oriental fireworks prepared an enchanting show. The headlines of flaming compositions speak of its splendour: "10,000 lis of scarlet waves", "A bouquet to holiday".

Noting achievements of people's power over the past 40 years and successes of the decade of reforms and policy of openness to the outside world, the Chinese leaders and the mass media also called attention to priority tasks of Chinese society.

In the process of improving the economy, the country has to ensure optimum rates of economic growth, arrest inflation and cut the deficit, Premier Li Peng said at a reception in the House of People's Congresses.

The present holiday is marked in a complicated atmosphere. Martial law is still in force in some areas of Beijing, which is evidenced by army patrols. The newspaper RENMIN RIBAO writes today that the achievement and strengthening of the stable social and political situation is an important guarantee of the country's successful advance towards socialism. "To speak about patriotism in isolation from socialism and the party leadership is tantamount to a departure from China's realities today," points out the organ of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

Li Peng Cited on PRC Anniversary

LD3009185689 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Beijing September 30 TASS—The Chinese State Council gave a reception today in the House of Popular Assemblies to mark the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic.

The reception was attended by the Premier of the State Council Li Peng, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Jiang Zemin, Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic Yang Shangkun, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National Assembly Wan Li, other Chinese leaders and heads of the diplomatic missions accredited in Beijing.

In his address to the gathering, Li Peng stated that forty years ago China entered a new period of its history. The efforts of the entire people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party created a socialist state and a single national economy. Considerable successes have been scored in raising the population's living standards.

The Chinese People's Republic pursues independent foreign policy proceeding from the five principles of peaceful coexistence and playing an important role in maintaining peace in the whole world and ensuring stability and progress of nations.

The process of socialist construction was not smooth, the Communist Party and the government made mistakes and miscalculations, Li Peng went on to say.

However, development and progress have always been the prevalent tendency in the economic, political and social life.

Considerable achievements were scored in the past ten years in the course of reforms and the implementation of the policy of openness to the world.

Experience has shown that socialism alone can ensure China's survival and development.

Touching upon the issues of concern for the country, the head of the Chinese Government stressed that unity, stability and adherence to basic political principles are the most important guarantors of the onward economic progression.

He pointed to the need for an unflagging struggle against the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalisation, for a further development of the spirit of collectivism, patriotism, self-reliance and persistent labour.

PRC National Day Marked in Moscow

OW0210104989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the Soviet Union, has held a reception to mark the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. Attending the reception were Medvedev, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Pivovarov, chairman of a USSR Supreme Soviet Committee; Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Aboimov, deputy minister of Foreign Affairs; and people from other official quarters.

On the night of the same day [date not given], a grand meeting attended by people from all parts of society was held in the roundtable room of the Trade Unions building in Moscow to celebrate China's 40th founding anniversary. Present at the meeting were Medvedev; Karabasov, secretary of the Moscow Municipal Party Committee; and officials from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Central Council of Trade Unions, and Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol.

Also seated on the rostrum were Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Liu Gengyin, vice president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Yu Hongliang addressed the gathering. They believed that the friendly and cooperative relations between the Soviet Union and China will be further developed, for such relations are good for the peoples of the two countries and conducive to world peace.

After the meeting, Soviet and Chinese artists entertained the participants with performances.

Further on Moscow Ceremony

PM0110215389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Chinese People's Holiday"]

[Text] The day of the proclamation of the PRC has gone down in history as the triumph of a cause for which the best sons and daughters of the Chinese people fought. The victory of the revolution opened up for the country's working people a broad path of national rebirth, brought into play the people's creative powers, and radically altered the destiny of its population of millions. The establishment of socialism in China had a favorable impact on the entire course of world development. This was stated 29 September at a ceremony in Moscow marking the 40th anniversary of the formation of the PRC.

The keynote speaker—N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology—noted that in an historically short period Chinese working people, under the leadership of the CPC, have radically changed the face of their homeland. They have transformed China, with its population of many millions, from a backward, semicolonial country into a state with a scientific-technical and industrial base which plays a significant part in world politics. Talking about Soviet-Chinese relations, the speaker stressed that as a result of the meeting between the two countries' top leaders they have entered a qualitatively new stage. With each passing day these relations acquire increasing dynamism and depth and new content and are becoming increasingly firmly established in world politics as a factor of peace, stability, and creation.

PRC Ambassador to the Soviet Union Yu Hongliang told the gathering about life today in the republic and about the Chinese people's creative labor. He noted that our countries possess considerable potential for cooperation in various spheres and that this must now take on real substance. It was stressed that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and their further strengthening and development meet the fundamental interests of the two peoples and are a substantial contribution to strengthening positive trends in Asia and in the world as a whole.

The meeting was attended by V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, N.D. Pivovarov, chairman of a USSR Supreme Soviet committee, the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations.

A delegation from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society was present.

PRC Envoy's Television Address

LD0110222389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Taking part in our program is Yu Hongliang, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Chinese People's Republic to the USSR [Yu Hongliang, seated at desk reads his address from paper in front of him; the Chinese flag is on screen in the left top corner].

[Begin Yu Hongliang recording in Chinese with superimposed Russian translation] Dear comrades and friends: First of all I take the opportunity to convey to the great Soviet people friendly greetings from the Chinese people.

The formation in 1949 of the Chinese People's Republic ended the predominance of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in our country and opened up a new era in its history.

In the past 40 years the peoples of all China's nationalities, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have attained great achievements which have attracted the attention of the entire world.

In our country large-scale planned economic construction was conducted and the foundation of a comparatively mighty material-technical base was laid.

The gross output of industry in 1988 had risen 135-fold and of agriculture more than six fold, compared with 1949.

Our country's science and technology also took a huge step forward. In a number of leading areas of science and technology we have achievements at the advanced world level or at a level approaching it.

In December 1978 the historic Third Plenum of the CPC Central Committee of the 11th convocation took place which voiced profound criticism of ultra-left errors and took the decision to transfer the center of gravity of the party's work to economic construction. The plenum drew up a course toward reform and broadening external ties while observing four main principles, first of all such as leadership by the party and following the socialist road. In 10 years the reform has already yielded huge results. The average annual increase in the gross output of the national economy in this period amounted to 9.6 percent. Income per capita in the countryside rose more threefold and in the towns it more than doubled.

Our country is consistently pursuing an independent [nezavisimyy] and autonomous [samostoyatelnyy] peaceful foreign policy and is coming out in favor of the creation of a new international political order on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the creation of a new international economic order on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. China opposes hegemonism and comes out in favor of the preservation of peace throughout the world. It has made its contribution to the cause of easing international tension and to the cause of peace and development throughout the world.

China and the Soviet Union are two great socialist countries. Reforms on a grand scale are underway in both countries. The Chinese people wholeheartedly wish the Soviet Union success in perestroyka. The Chinese people highly value the assistance given to us by the Soviet people and this assistance will never be forgotten.

Our people have always nourished friendly feelings toward the Soviet people and believes that our countries should live in friendship from generation to generation.

Thank you for your attention [preceding sentence said in Russian by the ambassador]. [end recording]

Northeast Asia

Japan Welcomes 'Idea' of Gorbachev's Visit

LD2909222489 Moscow TASS in English 2141 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Tokyo September 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Krasnov:

"Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs welcomes the idea of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan in 1991 and expects good results from summit talks."

Official spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry Tayzo Watanabe told this [to] a briefing for foreign journalists on Friday.

Answering a question from TASS how the Japanese Government assesses prospects for the visit, the possibility of which was discussed during a meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Japan's Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama on September 27 in New York, Watanabe said the moment for the continuation of the dialogue between the two countries has not been lost, and the Japanese side welcomes the Soviet proposal.

Watanabe also said that an atmosphere of candid discussion of different problems had been created at bilateral talks of late.

Japan To Seek Peace Treaty With Soviet Union

LD0210091389 Moscow TASS in English 0852 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Tokyo October 2 TASS—The Japanese Government will seek to maintain the policy of stable relations with the USSR and seek the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two countries, Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu said in a policy speech delivered to Japan's lower chamber of parliament.

But, Kaifu said, priority should be given to solution of the "question of the Northern Territories," a group of the small Kurile ridge islands claimed by Japan.

Commentary Assesses Japan-USSR Relations

OW0210100289 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama held talks in New York. Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev's writes the following:

A new and significant prospect has appeared for Soviet-Japanese political dialogue as a result of these talks. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze told Foreign Minister Nakayama that Soviet leader Gorbachev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, wants to visit Japan in 1991. In response, Foreign Minister Nakayama said that the visit will be a historic event. The Japanese Government welcomed the Soviet leader's visit to Japan. The talks between Foreign Ministers Shevardnadze and Nakayama in New York hailed this planned visit.

General Secretary Gorbachev's visit, if realized, will certainly rectify historic nonsense. It is nothing but nonsense that no Soviet leaders have ever visited Japan, a neighbor country of the Soviet Union. Japan's role in the international arena has often been valued little, or Japan has been unreasonably seen as a satellite of the United States. In recent years, top Soviet leaders' visits to Japan have been obstructed by the violent restlessness of Japan-USSR relations. This restlessness has made people believe it is impossible to realize significant results at summit talks.

However, in his Vladivostok speech in 1986, General Secretary Gorbachev expressed that he wanted to have top level dialogues. Now there are realistic expectations that a Soviet leader's visit to Japan will bring about essential results and significantly promote and uplift the bilateral relations to a new stage. The political dialogue between the two countries, started by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan in December of last year, have become more active and constructive in the wake of such expectations.

Since the Foreign Minister's visit, bilateral negotiations have not weakened. On the contrary, it is said that they

will be more active in the near future. Soviet-Japanese negotiations on ship navigation, on trade and economic cooperation, and on scientific and technological cooperation will be held in October, November, and December respectively. It is observed that a working group's regular meeting on a peace treaty will also be held in December to carry out negotiations late this year for cooperation regarding environmental protection. In addition, foreign ministers of both countries will visit each other.

What is expected most from General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan is undoubtedly a significant improvement in chances for conclusion of a peace treaty. There will be enough time for both sides to prepare conditions for conclusion of a peace treaty by 1991 should the two country make efforts in good faith. In this connection, the working group for a peace treaty, formed in December of last year, shoulders great responsibilities. It seems that representatives of both countries have clarified their positions in meetings held so far by the working group. If that is true, then it is now time for both sides to move toward finding a compromise position.

The Japanese Government's high officials have recently hinted at a possibility of tying Japanese-Soviet relations to the territorial issue. A similar view can be noted in Chief Cabinet Secretary Moriyama's reaction to the news of General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan. We can expect a transition of bilateral relations to an era of mutual understanding and cooperation if the approach to this issue becomes more flexible and more realistic.

Japanese Tug, Soviet Vessel Collide; Tug Sinks

LD3009135989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1205 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] A Japanese tug sank near Yokohama after a collision with the Soviet container carrier "Mikhail Svetlov." There were three crew members on board the tug. This occurred on 28 September at 2000 when the container carrier, with cargo on board, was leaving the port of Shimizu for Yokohama. The "Mikhail Svetlov" was not damaged. Rescue services are searching for the crew of the tug. Investigations into the events have been started by the Japanese side, together with Soviet representatives.

Quayle Emphasizes Defense Cooperation With Japan

OW3009123889 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Quayle has paid his second visit to Japan this year. In many aspects, his first visit was an attempt to find facts about Japan. However, quite different from his first visit, his current visit is more practical in nature. For example, his visit seems aimed at giving instructions to the Japanese Government on how to deal with the Soviet Union.

While wishing for success of the Soviet Union's perestroyka program in his consultations with Prime Minister Kaifu, Vice President Quayle also called on Japan to enhance its vigilance. He said the West cannot afford to relax its attention on defense because the Soviet Union's fighting capacity is at its highest level. Of course, in reviewing the history of Soviet-U.S. relations, one can understand the difficulties in suddenly building up complete trust between the two nations. However, the alertness, as stated by Vice President Qualye, is an overexaggeration that borders on provocation at this point in time.

The "PACEX-89" exercise, the largest multinational military exercise in the Pacific Ocean since the end of World War II, is now being conducted in the Pacific. The United States, the major organizer and participant in this exercise, has dispatched a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier and a number of battleships to join in the exercise, and the Japanese Self-Defense Force will join in the exercise beginning 29 September. The Soviet Union has never conducted such exercises either singly or in cooperation with its allies. Moreover, the Soviet Union has unilaterally reduced its Army, Navy, and Air Force personnel in the Far East by 120,000.

Under such conditions, is there any actual need to conduct such a large-scale exercise which is equivalent to preparing for actual warfare? During his stay in Tokyo, Vice President Quayle seems to have answered this question. In his meeting with Foreign Minister Nakayama, the vice president stated that the Soviet Union should not be given the chance to create a world as it envisions. Perhaps, the purpose for the "PACEX" exercise is to precisely indicate the U.S. intention concerning this point. However, I think it is necessary to take the following questions into consideration: What type of world does the Soviet Union actually envision? What does the United States dislike concerning this vision? And does the Soviet Union attempt to compel its own vision on others?

First, the Soviet Union's current foreign policy approach is termed new thinking, and this approach actually excludes such an attempt as to impose its vision on others in one way or another. The core of this new thinking is to promote international relations irregardless of ideology, to give priority to values cherished by the whole of mankind, to confirm mutual reliance of nations in the world, and to admit that the peoples of various countries have the right to make independent selections. Without this new thinking, nothing would have been achieved in nuclear disarmament, and there would certainly be no hope for the future which now looks bright as a result of the recent Soviet-U.S. foreign ministerial talks. Moreover, there would have been no unilateral or large-scale reduction of Soviet troops.

Well then, what points of this new thinking are unacceptable to Vice President Quayle? We would like to have a

more concrete answer to this question. Otherwise, the vice president's [words indistinct] remarks will have no grounds at all.

In making his remarks, the vice president appears to be seeking enemies that do not exist. This impression can be obtained when some other facts about Vice President Quayle's visit to Japan are taken into consideration. While urgent issues concerning the Japan-U.S. trade friction were sidetracked this time, what was particularly brought up to the fore was the issue of strengthening the military alliance. The vice president visited the U.S. military base at Misawa and also the Japanese Air Self-Defense Force base at Chitose. In his talks with the Japanese side, he reiterated on several occasions the importance of the Japan-U.S. security pact and the need to promote cooperation in defense, and he was able to obtain Prime Minister Kaifu's full understanding on these points.

KYODO NEWS SERVICE attributes Vice President Quayle's emphasis on the military factor in Japan-U.S. cooperation to the increased influence of the Japanese Socialist Party which is critical of the security pact. Nevertheless, no matter what views the vice president may have, it remains unchanged that the military relations between the United States and Japan have already been strengthened despite the changes in international relations. The "PACEX-89" exercise is another example to prove this point. It is regrettable that Vice President Quayle's visit to Japan did not provide any grounds to indicate that Washington and Japan will take some positive and political [words indistinct] to promote the relaxation of tension in the Asian-Pacific region.

Commentary Views Quayle's Visit to Japan

OW0210091889 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Quayle is scheduled to be in Japan from 21 to 26 September. In this connection, military commentator Kalinin writes as follows:

According to KYODO News Service, during Vice President Quayle's visit to Japan, the present situation and prospects of military cooperation between the two countries will likely be a major topic for discussion. For Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu, this will be a continuation of consultations he held during his recent visit to the United States. According to MAINICHI SHIMBUN, at those consultations a U.S. delegate asked Prime Minister Kaifu to increase Japan's role in the framework of military cooperation.

Although it seems that concrete proposals in this regard were not advanced, one can not predict yet if such proposals will be put forward by Vice President Quayle during his visit. However, what the United States ultimately seeks in Japan is clear. This past spring the U.S. Department of Defense published a report on increased defense shares by its allies. The term allies refers to members of NATO—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—and Japan. In this report, particular emphasis is placed on Japan.

Those who prepared the report praised Japan's military policy, stressing that the amount of Japan's increased military spending surpassed the average of all NATO member nations, including the United States. They said that Japan allocates a considerable amount of funds for the upkeep of U.S. military bases in Japan. In [words indistinct], Japan surpasses the aggregate of France, Britain, and Italy, which constitutes an important element of the military power of that country.

While making this appraisal, the U.S. Department of Defense report declared that the scale of Japan's armament is still insufficient and openly called on Japan to assume much heavier responsibility than it does now in the area of the West's collective security. The preparers of this report think that Japan's share should be roughly quadrupled and its ratio increased to more than 20 percent. This is equivalent to a combined total of the shares borne by West Germany, France, and Britain. Thus, the United States is trying to cut back its military burden, which has exerted an increasingly bad influence on its economy.

As is evident from this, while it pins great hopes on Japan, the United States is also taking into consideration the fact that overestimation of the military role is inviting protests from the peace-loving people in Japan as well as countering the trend of military detente which is now seen more often throughout the world. Hence, in anticipation of difficulties in putting into practice this arrogant plan for Japan, the authors of the report are firmly asking Japan not to start reducing its military spending under any circumstances. They mean to say that [words indistinct], time will help solve.

From all indications, it is safe to say that one of Vice President Quayle's goals is to lay the groundwork for drawing Japan further into the arms race.

Of course, Japan should determine its own policies. It must be emphasized here, however, that history clearly shows how blind it is to pin hopes on armed force. Armed force will not help enhance security or economics, not to mention the international authority of a country. On the contrary, it will serve its own national interests and the cause of strengthening peace far better to adhere to the obligation not to become a military power, which Japan has taken upon itself.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shevardnadze, Thai Counterpart Discuss Cambodia

LD3009105689 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 30 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met his Thai counterpart Sitthi Sawetsila on Friday.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the marked improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and Thailand in the past few years.

At the same time they noted that the two countries could make more progress in various fields, specifically in economic relations.

In this connection the sides attach much importance to the forthcoming visit of Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov to Thailand.

The ministers centred their attention on the problem of Cambodian settlement. It was pointed out that the recent Paris conference had played a useful role by creating an international negotiating mechanism.

Shevardnadze said there are now favourable conditions for settlement: The political climate in the Asia-Pacific region has grown warmer and Vietnam has completed the withdrawal of its troops from Cambodia.

The Soviet minister called for the continuation of dialogue between Cambodian sides, and pointed to a possibility of a second stage of the Paris conference.

Sawetsila agreed that dialogue is needed and expressed his view on approaches to its organisation.

USSR 'Might Supply' Heng Samrin With Weapons

OW0210082489 Tokyo KYODO in English 0802 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Bangkok, Oct. 2 KYODO—The Soviet Union might supply sophisticated weapons to the Heng Samrin government in Phnom Penh to help it combat the Khmer Rouge and other resistance forces, a Soviet political journalist said Monday.

Eduard Ryabtsev, a political writer with the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY, told reporters if the Khmer Rouge threatens the stability of the Kampuchean Government and the latter sought help from its allies, Moscow might supply it with high-tech weaponry like the "tactical rockets" sent to Kabul.

Ryabtsev said, however, that he thought the Khmer Rouge is incapable of seriously threatening the security of the government and capturing key cities in Kampuchea since it is merely a guerrilla force and not a regular army.

He said he sees the Kampuchean problem being gradually resolved by the increasingly important role of the United Nations rather than by internal military conflict.

Ryabtsev said the Khmer Rouge constitutes the biggest obstacle to a reconciliation between the government and the three opposition factions.

If members of the Khmer Rouge disown Pol Pot and his associates, said to be responsible for killing more than one million people during their rule from 1975 to 1978, and denounce their policies, they might be accepted by the other factions, he said.

The Soviet journalist praised Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan's initiative in trying to bridge the gaps between the warring Kampuchean factions to establish a ceasefire and bring about a new round of negotiations.

IZVESTIYA Reports Cambodia Situation

PM2909131989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Sep 89 Morning Edition pp 1,4

[Own correspondent B. Vinogradov dispatch under the "Abroad" rubric: "Cambodia: Troops Have Gone, Problem Remains"]

[Excerpts] Phnom Penh—On Monday 25 September Phnom Penh said farewell to the Vietnamese internationalist soldiers leaving Cambodia.

A mass rally opened early in the morning on the square in front of the old royal palace attended, as honored guests and international observers, by members of numerous foreign delegations, heads of diplomatic missions, and embassy military attaches accredited in Phnom Penh. A Soviet delegation headed by O.O. Suleymenov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was also on the rostrum.

Opening the solemn send-off ceremony for the Vietnamese volunteers, Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Cambodian State Council, said that the Cambodian people will remember forever Vietnam's invaluable aid and support in the struggle against the genocidal regime and in defending the country from the encroachments of hostile forces. Vietnamese troops, he pointed out, performed their mission as liberators honestly and saved a nation doomed to slavery and annihilation. Heng Samrin expressed certainty that Cambodia and Vietnam will continue to do their utmost to strengthen the ties of fraternal friendship and solidarity and develop cooperation between the two peoples as during the years of joint struggle. [passage omitted].

Hun Sen, head of the government and Cambodian foreign minister, held a press conference here the day before. In his statement he pointed out that a key question in the political settlement of the Cambodia problem may henceforth be deemed to be resolved—the Vietnamese troops have left. Throughout this time, he recalled, many governments and UN General Assembly resolutions condensed the problem to the presence of the Vietnamese troops. It now looks as though one can assume that the way to a settlement is open.

But another important question is appearing on the agenda in all its magnitude—the elimination of Pol Pot's supporters as a political and military force and the

prevention of the restoration of the genocidal regime, which was discussed at the Paris conference. It is no secret that Pol Pot's supporters are preparing for war. They are strengthening their detachments in the mountainous regions of Cambodia, setting up secret weapons and munitions dumps, and continuing to receive aid from abroad. People here believe that with the coming of the dry season—November-December—they may begin operations to capture some of the territory in one of the Western provinces. That is the reality. If all attempts hitherto to establish the national reconciliation process with the aid of dialogue have failed to produce practical results, Pol Pot's supporters and other opposition forces must now be expected to try to "clarify relations" using weapons.

In that situation, Hun Sen pointed out, it seems especially important to ensure that the countries which previously promised to cease military aid to all combatant Cambodian sides keep their word immediately following the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops. On this depends the question of whether there will be peace in Cambodia or whether civil war will flare up. At the same time Hun Sen stressed that his government still advocates peaceful dialogue and is prepared to use any form of talks, be it conversations with Sihanouk, informal meetings in Jakarta, or an international conference.

The report that an accord has been secured on Thailand's initiative of the next meeting between Hun Sen and Sihanouk, which will obviously be held in Bangkok this time, was a reassuring element. So the quest for a peaceful resolution of the conflict will continue. In this context all observers point out the importance of Hun Sen's recent visit to Thailand and his meetings with Prime Minister C. Chunhawan. It is interesting that Hun Sen crossed the Cambodian-Thai border on foot via the region of Poipet, a city which has, according to Pol Pot followers' "reports," allegedly been constantly in their hands. This fact was reasonably assessed as convincing proof of the government's ability to control the situation in the country.

Agreement in principle was achieved at the talks in Bangkok, Hun Sen said, between the two neighboring countries regarding the need to normalize the situation by continuing dialogue with Sihanouk and creating an international supervisory mechanism. The following formula was proposed: It may be formed with the involvement of the UN secretary general and will at the same time be the operational organ of the Paris conference. Its duties will include supervision of the ceasefire, foreign states' renunciation of weapons shipments, and the holding of general elections. The moment for monitoring the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops has, alas, been lost. International inspectors can only note their absence on Cambodian territory now.

Talking about the policy of constant neutrality proclaimed this June, Hun Sen explained that all Cambodia's previous treaties and agreements are now considered invalid. However, this does not mean that the country will not be able, where necessary, to ask its friends for aid in complete accordance with the UN Charter and the principles of the Nonaligned Movement. As for the treaty with the SRV, should both countries so wish, the section that deals with Cambodia's permanent neutral status may be revised.

No one is trying to make clear predictions of the future course of events now. The stances of Pol Pot's supporters and their allies are being studied attentively. According to some assessments, they have approximately 40,000 troops between them. Everything indicates that they have exhausted their possibilities of recruiting new people from the refugee camps. In the past 2-3 years the opposition groupings have suffered great losses. Cambodia's People's Army, which includes regular and territorial troops, numbers approximately 150,000 men in addition to the self-defense and militia forces—approximately 250,000 men. This distribution allows us to hope that hostilities will not assume a broad scale, but the Pol Pot supporters may unleash terror in the cities, sabotage on the roads, and local operations. That is why steps are being taken in the country to boost vigilance and strengthen defense.

Can there be a compromise between the "Khmers Rouges" and the Cambodian Government? In response to this question Hun Sen uttered a categorical "no!" He reiterated his stance voiced in a recent interview with IZVESTIYA (No 250), saying that his government will not make concessions to the "Khmers Rouges" until they lay down their weapons and break with Pol Pot once and for all. If Sihanouk intends to defend the Pol Pot supporters' interests further, it will be hard to find a compromise solution with him, Hun Sen said. The situation could reverse over the next 6 months so that general parliamentary elections are held in Cambodia on a unilateral basis without involving the opposition, if the latter do not display flexibility and do not take constructive steps toward reconciliation. The current National Assembly's term in office has already expired and we will be able to hold regular elections in accordance with the new Constitution and within the framework of the laws, Hun Sen said. Most deputies support this proposal.

Reportage on Situation in Western Cambodia

BK3009051389 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] According to reports from the Thai-Cambodian border, fighting is still raging in that area. Government forces have repulsed attacks by the Pol Pot troops who infiltrated Cambodia from Thai territory. Soviet journalist on international affairs, Comrade Viktor Vinogradov, writes on this issue.

Battle reports are usually reported from the Pailin area. This small town, buried in scattered forest, is currently

unrecognizable. Usually, it is bustling until late at night. However, now, even in the morning, it is lifeless; people stay in their homes. The walls of these houses are made of wood planks but they offer at least some protection from the rockets fired from the other side of the border. Numerous refugees from nearby villages and communes also find refuge in the houses of Pailin residents. These people are worried that they might bump into the Polpotists who, in the past few days, have infiltrated Cambodia. According to refugees' accounts, the Khmer Rouge are still brutal, like 10 years ago. These bandits dared not poke their heads into Pailin where strong government forces are stationed; they only dared to fire rockets from a distance. Government forces' officers affirm that this kind of situation is not new to them in the Pailin region. There were even fiercer attacks from the Khmer Rouge in the past, and last year government troops were forced to repulse these attacks.

For a long time, it has been noticed that the Pol Pot group carrys out intense activities whenever real hope emerges for reconciling the warring Cambodian parties. For example, the Pol Pot group increased pressure during the first informal meeting in Jakarta and again in March this year at the international conference on Cambodia in Paris. This pressure subsided only when the Khmer Rouge's diplomatic policies succeeded in preventing the Paris conference from achieving a peaceful agreement.

What pushed the Khmer Rouge bandits to launch these fierce attacks in the last few days? In my opinion, similar to the opinions of many observers, the Polpotists' active fighting is related to the end of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia. The offensive against Cambodian territory is like an answer from Pol Pot to the appeal for a cease-fire from Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan. As everyone knows, the Phnom Penh government has agreed to stop fighting. This position has been supported by Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and many other countries. The Khmer Rouge interpreted Phnom Penh's position as a sign of weakness. The withdrawal of the Vietnamese Army's last units was received by the Polpotists as a signal to start the armed struggle in a new phase to seize power in Cambodia.

The Soviet journalist continues: It is obvious that the Polpotists are so courageous because of the political and military support they continue to receive from their foreign friends. They have been assisted in the task of mounting a propaganda campaign. A few days ago I listened to a radio station that has nurtured friendly sentiments of the Pol Pot group. This station's interpretation of the situation is, in my view, very strange. This station broadcasted that the Khmer Rouge launched attacks against Vietnamese troops which seem to have been secretly left behind along the Cambodian-Thai border. When I related all this to a Cambodian journalist working in Moscow, he just smiled in disbelief. He said to me: The Polpotists dare to attack because Vietnam has left. Did you notice that fighting around Pailin occured throughout last year. This is because the Vietnamese troops left this area a year ago. The Khmer Rouge have already witnessed themselves that our Cambodian troops can fight, even without the Vietnamese combatants' assistance. In my view, the Khmer Rouge are now seeing this again, said the Cambodian journalist. I, a Soviet journalist, also believe this.

Judging from the latest reports, although the attacks by small groups of Khmer Rouge, namely rocket attacks, are numerous, they do not threaten the Cambodian people's security.

Near East & South Asia

Official Denies Inviting Peres To Visit Moscow

JN3009181889 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 29 Sep 89 p 3

[Text] Moscow/Amman—The USSR has categorically denied that it has extended an invitation to Israeli Finance Minister Shim'on Peres to visit Moscow.

The deputy chief of the Middle East Countries Department at the Soviet Foreign Ministry has said that such a visit cannot take place at present in its official form.

In a statement to AL-ITTIHAD, Gennadiy Alichov [name as published] said that the USSR's position on the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Zionist entity is firm and clear to all sides; namely that relations can only be restored within the framework of the peace process and on preparations for holding an international conference on the Middle East crisis. He said: The USSR believes that the PLO is the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and therefore, it is considered the only party concerned regarding any future negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

Earlier, Shim'on Peres had claimed that contacts had begun between the Zionist entity and the USSR to conclude a trade agreement whereby Israel would export fruit and vegetables to Moscow, and in return, the Soviets would be prepared to provide Israeli with commercial aircraft and spare parts.

Citing Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Shim'on Peres, news reports said this issue was discussed during Peres' meeting with U.S. President George Bush at the end of last week, and that Peres said that he planned to visit Moscow in October.

In another development, Alichov stressed that the restoration of diplomatic relations between Hungary and the Zionist entity was a Hungarian affair. He said that we are ready to upgrade Palestinian diplomatic representation to the embassy level when there is an opportunity. However, he pointed out that the PLO has not made an official request to the USSR in this regard.

On the other hand, AL-ITTIHAD telephoned the PLO charge d'affaires in Moscow to learn the truth of this

story. He replied that the PLO has not actually made such a request. He stressed however, that the PLO has never made such a request to any state that has upgraded diplomatic representation to the embassay level.

Iraq's 'Criticism' of Soviet-Iranian Ties Assailed

NC2909200089 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] The expansion of Soviet-Iranian relations has produced various reactions in different countries. Special attention has been attached to this in Iraq; and this is understandable.

Even though it is more than a year since the Iran-Iraq cease-fire agreement came into force, nevertheless the two sides have yet to achieve lasting peace. These two countries continue to be in a state of diplomatic confrontation and they view each other's diplomatic relations from this aspect.

For example, AL-'IRAQ, published in Baghdad recently criticized Soviet-Iranian relations. The Iraqi newspaper believes that the improvement of these ties and the agreement on bilateral cooperation in strengthening Iran's defense structure serve the Iranian leadership's aggressive policy, and will encourage the Iranian leadership to continue this policy in the region. Our commentator writes on this:

This Iraqi reaction to Soviet-Iranian relations is in line with the assessments by various political officials and organs of the Western mass media. I do not know who copied whom in these assessments. But it is difficult to say that they conform with reality.

Yes, the Soviet-Iranian communique says, on the principles of relations, that the Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate with Iran in strengthening its defense structure. It is this part of the agreement, in particular, that some analysts who are not so scrupulous about ethics have extracted from the total number of extensive documents in a bid to make a commotion. But, after all, there is actually nothing here that should create a commotion. This kind of cooperation existed until 1982; it is merely being resumed now.

The question is: What is so surprising about this, especially when the level of relations between the two neighboring countries is taken into consideration? Cooperation in this field is not rare in international relations. Such cooperation exists in the Soviet Union's relations with Iraq, too.

Another point that is particularly interesting is the way in which those who like to stir up sham commotions portray the Soviet- Iranian communique. These people announce that the Soviet Union has expressed readiness to place war materiel at Iran's disposal. But it is not clear why, when announcing this, the authors of some of these commentaries are silent on why Moscow and Tehran precisely stated in the joint communique that the two countries' cooperation will expand on the basis of the UN Charter's principles and objectives, in the interests of consolidating peace and security in the region and the world. A number of specific political directives were stated by both sides in the joint Soviet-Iranian communique, and these include the objectives of achieving a final solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict, turning the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean into a peace zone, and solving conflicts in other parts of the world, from the Middle East to South Africa. Is this not what Iraq wants, too?

When the world talks about the delivery of weapons, one should take into consideration how many weapons are delivered, and why. If the Soviet Union considers the principle of a logical sufficiency in defense as its own yardstick, then clearly any other country can also follow this principle.

Our agreement with Iran in the defense field has been regulated officially and is an open matter. Meanwhile, our Western critics secretly placed weapons at Iran's disposal with clear intentions and in the hope of pouring oil on the Iran-Iraq conflict.

We should also consider another point, and that is that Soviet-Iranian military cooperation is at a minimum, and that this agreement will basically lead to the consolidation of peace and security in the region.

OPEC Conference, Iranian-Saudi Relations Viewed

NC2909211789 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary from "The World Today"]

[Text] As you have already heard, the OPEC conference has ended in Geneva. Iran's Petroleum Minister Gholam-Reza Aqazadeh participated in this conference. Our commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes on the outcome of the OPEC conference:

The magnificent Intercontinental Hotel in central Geneva emptied. Serious deliberations ended in the hotel's conference hall. The strong bodyguards who kept a careful watch were not to be seen, and no journalists were visible in front of this huge and magnificent building. OPEC's coordination committee had ended its work.

They say that oil is the blood of contemporary civilization. Thus it is not surprising that the discussions of the 13 OPEC members were so carefully followed.

The talks were long and difficult. As expected, the issue of quotas was the main topic of discussion at the conference. Some countries, including Kuwait and the UAE, are exceeding the production quota that has been set. Naturally this has led to serious dissatisfaction among other OPEC members.

In some cases, the deliberations during the talks were so heated that one thought that everything would end up with a separation. Nevertheless, according to OPEC Secretary General Subroto, new thinking triumphed. The participants in the talks were able to reach an agreement through compromise.

Iran's proposal on increasing total oil production by the end of the current year from 19.5 million barrels a day to 20.5 million barrels formed the basis of the compromise. All the OPEC members agreed with this idea, after 5 hours of heated argument.

Iran's proposal on an increase in the oil production ceiling was generally not unexpected. Tehran is now basing its calculations related to the solution of economic problems on oil income, and the Iranian Government intends to increase oil income during the next 5 years to $77 billion; its current revenue from oil is only $26 billion. Moreover, today the Islamic Republic's oil industries are going through an active phase. After the end of the Iran-Iraq war, activities in many oil fields and oil refineries have been resumed. According to Gholam-Reza Aqazadeh, during the past few months, Iran's oil exports increased to 2 million barrels a day.

Clearly, under such conditions, Tehran is extremely interested in increasing oil extraction. But it was very difficult to gain the agreement of other OPEC countries to this. The reason is not only that some OPEC members tried to maintain the current quota, but political differences prevented the solution of this problem and made things more complicated.

The serious political differences between Iran and Saudi Arabia—OPEC's most influential members—continue. According to the TEHRAN TIMES, this difference was the basic reason for the problems at the Geneva conference. On the eve of the last day of talks, the newspaper called on both sides to approach each other and to make concessions.

The outcome of the talks shows that the way toward compromise was found and the OPEC members were able to set aside political differences and focus their attention on solving economic problems only. An agreement was reached; and as a result, yet another of the knots of international differences was undone.

Opposition Forces Repulsed in Khowst

LD0110152789 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Kabul October 1 TASS—An offensive of opposition units on Ghorbaz area in the Khowst District was repulsed by units of the Afghan Army. Extremists retreated. Some 200 commandos, among them servicemen of the Pakistani Army, were killed or captured. A tank and six trucks loaded with arms and ammunition were destroyed.

30 former rebels went over to the government's side in Herat Province. The BAKHTAR New Agency reported that another 600 people returned to peaceful life.

In Kabul, two time bombs were deactivated by security bodies. One mine had been planted at the booking office of Ariana Afghan Airlines, the other at the Pamirs cinema house.

A car of Alkhaj Samandar, member of the Council for National Reconciliation, hit a mine on the Baghlan-Samangan route several days ago. Samandar and an official accompanying him were killed.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent two more notes to the U.N. Good Offices Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP). New facts of violations of the Geneva agreement by Pakistan are cited in the notes.

A meeting to mark the day of people's militia observed in Afghanistan today was held at the republic's Ministry of the Interior. A message of president Najibullah was read out.

The message says that units of Afghanistan's interior forces manifested selflessness and high combat skills in upholding the republic's independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Afghan leader urged fighters of interior forces to strengthen discipline and upgrade skills to frustrate the plot of enemies of the country and people.

U.S., Pakistan Must Act on Kabul Missile Attacks

PM2909123589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 First Edition p 5

[Special correspondent Yu. Vladimirov dispatch: "There Is No Justification for Barbarism"]

[Excerpts] Kabul, 26 Sep—Not a single day passes without Afghan civilians falling victim to missiles fired by extremists from bandit formations opposed to the republic's government. Exploding rocket-propelled projectiles are killing people in many of the country's population centers and in the capital itself. [Passage omitted]

Looking at the map of Kabul, marked to show the day's explosion sites, I found myself thinking that the opinion expressed earlier by someone about the bombardment being random was wrong. Yes, sometimes the projectiles explode among clay huts and on waste land, and this gives the impression of random fire. But how is one to explain a missile striking a mosque during Friday prayers, catching a large concentration of people at a bus stop in the rush hour, or the 22 September explosion at an industrial enterprise when 14 persons were killed and 54 wounded? How is one to explain the fact that not a single rocket-propelled projectile has been recorded near the site of the U.S. Embassy (not staffed at present), not far from the airport which is intensively bombarded? And why is it—as the map for 15 September clearly

shows—that six missiles "bracketed" the Soviet Embassy and a seventh actually landed in its grounds? True, as luck would have it, none of the Soviet diplomatic commission's [as published] staffers was hit.

Finally, why is it that a projectile exploded again last Sunday in the immediate vicinity of a block where Soviet diplomats live? These questions make one think that "targeted" objectives have been set in Kabul and the missiles are launched by skilled hands. Confirmation of this is provided by the recorded appearance in bandit formations operating near Kabul of six foreign advisers who have been assigned the tasks of organizing the bombardment of the city and adjusting the fire.

This is, of course, known to those who encourage the insurgents to destroy the "Kabul regime" by military means and who supply them with money and arms. I would not like to think that the bombardment of the Soviet Embassy could have been sanctioned by an "adviser" from a power that is called upon to guarantee the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. But it has to be supposed that Mr Tomsen, the U.S. President's special envoy to the "transitional government" of Afghan insurgents entrenched in the Pakistani city of Peshawar, takes no action as a result of the downright glaring news of the bombardment of the Soviet Embassy in Kabul. People in Washington evidently react in the same way toward it.

The silence on the banks of the Potomac, whose influence with the Afghan insurgents is great, is extremely eloquent. Why is it that people there are so indifferent to the atmosphere of enhanced danger being created around the Soviet diplomatic mission in Kabul and its staffers by the "fighters for the faith"? It is, after all, well known how sensitively the United States itself reacts to any threat to the lives of its citizens, especially in "hot spots." It would not go amiss if people in Washington were to recall that the United States has repeatedly asked the USSR to help secure the release of U.S. citizens who illegally penetrated Afghanistan's territory on missions that were far from peaceful and were detained by the republic's competent organs. The Soviet side, responding favorably to these requests, did whatever it could.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan is taking all possible measures to protect the capital from the hail of missiles. Pakistan's charge d'affaires ad interim in the Republic of Afghanistan was summoned to the republic's Foreign Ministry a few days ago, and his attention was drawn to the impermissibility of any further missile bombardment of Kabul. A resolute protest was expressed in connection with the interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs and breaches of the Geneva agreements. It is, after all, well known that Islamabad gives shelter to the armed Afghan opposition and that the Pakistani special services are drawing up plans for installing the insurgents in Afghanistan by military means.

As already reported, a few days ago, the USSR Foreign Ministry called on the U.S. and Pakistani Governments to exert due influence on the insurgents in order to put an end to the barbaric bombardment of the Afghan capital, preclude any danger to the lives of foreign representatives, and ensure normal conditions for the functioning of the Soviet diplomatic mission. "Otherwise," the Foreign Ministry statement says, "the Soviet Union reserves the right to take any measures it deems advisable to ensure the safety of the Soviet Embassy and Soviet citizens in Kabul."

One would like to hope that the U.S. public and the White House administration will appreciate the Soviet people's worry at the threat to the lives of their compatriots in Afghanistan.

Sub-Saharan Africa

South Africa Government Said To Cause Violence

MB3009104189 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Boris Asoyan commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] In South Africa this month 23 people died during a protest against the parliamentary elections. Two weeks later, tens of thousands took part in two peaceful demonstrations. In the first case the police force was aggressive, provoking a reciprocal violence; in the second the force was under the order of showing a calm conduct. As the minister of law and order, Adriaan Vlok, observed after the march, smiles are sometimes better than clubs. As a result, not a single incident was registered.

Who is responsible for the stirring up of violence in South Africa? Is it democratic organizations, as Pretoria claims, or the authorities themselves?

Let us remember some tragic events of a recent past. Sharpeville, 1960. It was the police that were shooting down a crowd of unarmed Africans, inviting powerful resistance to reprisals. Soweto, 1976. Police brutalities toward school students added to the feeling of hatred among the oppressed majority against the ruling regime. Langa, 1984. The shooting down of a funeral procession led to what became the most powerful antigovernment action in the country's history, which continued for more than 2 years.

It is easy to notice that intervals between the peaks of violence are getting shorter, and by some forecasts, the next explosion may happen even faster if the government keeps clinging to apartheid policies. So the order to replace clubs by smiles was quite logical. Yet the police smiled for several days only. On 23 September the police again attacked demonstrators, this time largely members of the Women Against Oppression [Repression] organization.

Explaining its move later, the police said that the demonstration was unauthorized. Meanwhile, members of

the ultraright groups with Nazi flags and racist posters were gathering for an authorized rally. According to eyewitnesses, when they were passing by the scene of the earlier massacre, the police gave them smiles, and even saluted to them.

When he was entering office, President Frederik de Klerk spoke about his determination to begin the construction of a democratic South Africa. The door to a new South Africa is open, he claimed, yet judging by the police actions, the regime wants to help the people into this new South Africa by forcing it through police lines. The impression is that following some paradoxic law, the Government of South Africa drives itself farther and farther along a blind alley, by telling itself promises with a fresh salvo of oppressions.

This morning an ANC [African National Congress] member, Mangena Jeffrey Boesman, was hanged in Pretoria, although the day before the United Nations Assembly demanded that his execution should be stayed. All this is happening in the atmosphere of present-day South Africa, an atmosphere of fear, hatred, and despair, when any wrong move can cause another conflagration.

MPLA Figure Interviewed During USSR Visit

LD3009092789 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1800 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Interview with Alexandre Rodrigues Quito, member of the Political Bureau of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party Central Committee, by unidentified interviewer during visit to USSR 'recently'—recorded]

[Excerpts] We draw your attention to the recording of an interview granted to Radio Moscow by Alexandre Rodrigues Quito, member of the Political Bureau of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Libertion of Angola]-Labor Party's Central Committee, who recently visited the USSR. We asked him to talk about the implementation of Angola's economic and financial recovery program:

[Begin recording] [Quito] On the economic reform, well, we have already set the terms of the problem into equation. First, we had to resolve the legislative problems; it was necessary to issue norms, to legislate for that process. All matters pertaining to that have been settled. So now we have entered the second stage, of implementation of the plans. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] In Mozambique the living conditions of a great many workers worsened during the implementation of the economic reconstruction program, so much so that a fund was recently set up to offset the way price rises were affecting the worse-off sections of the population.

[Quito] Yes, in Angola we, too, have that situation. The present situation...climate, can be described as being one of expectancy. Although everyone knows—the workers, the population as a whole—that the economic and financial recovery plan is a good thing for all, there exists a situation of expectancy. Because people usually only believe in a new policy, or in a specific policy that has been announced, when they begin to feel its effects. This is what is happening now in our country. [passage omitted] The workers are enthusiastic but expectant, waiting for results.

There have been certain delays in the implementation of certain programs, because things do not always happen as planned. So there are delays in the commencement of the implementation of certain programs, and this is already beginning to create some doubts in people's minds about whether the economic recovery plan will really go ahead and resolve the existing problems. Yes, this situation exists.

[Interviewer] It should be noted that the delays mentioned are due to a large extent to the war situation that continues to exist in Angola in spite of the Gbadolite agreements and of the peaceful settlement in Namibia. What is your view of the present situation?

[Quito] Well, the expected results may mean the continuation of the present situation. But we are inclined to believe that our people, even those being controlled—and we know in what conditions they are being controlled—do not favor this solution of fighting to the bitter end. Because there will be no vanquished, and we do not wish to be the victors if that means the extermination of our own people.

So we shall continue along the path of persuasion, telling them that ours is the right course, and that the conditions have been created, the legal provisions enacted, for their integration in society and therefore for a national harmonization with a view to the reconstruction of our country. There are signs of support for this course. I believe that the very evolution of the situation in Namibia and in the world in general may gradually bring about the conditions for the acceptance of this policy by the most rebellious, by those who stubbornly look for a military solution. Obviously such a change of attitude by UNITA [National Union for Total Independence of Angola] would require a change of attitude by the United States and South Africa. [passage omitted] [end recording]

East Europe

Shevardnadze Meets Foreign Ministers in New York

Romania's Totu

PM0110220389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on meeting in New York between E.A. Shevardnadze and Romanian Foreign Minister I. Totu entitled "Meetings in New York"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze has had a comradely conversation with Romanian Foreign Minister I. Totu.

There was a conceptual discussion of the major international issues on the agenda of the UN General Assembly's 44th session.

The ministers observed that the significance of reducing nuclear and conventional arms exceeds far beyond the interests of the countries directly involved in this process.

The world's political atmosphere is changing, and the money to be released as a result of curtailment in military production could be used to increase aid for development purposes.

The ministers stated with satisfaction that certain progress has been recently achieved in the field of disarmament. This was illustrated by the results of the recent Soviet-American contacts and the course of the Vienna talks on reducing conventional armed forces.

The ministers expressed concern over the debt situation in the world economy, which is fraught with unpredictable consequences. Improvement of the financial situation should be regarded as one of the most topical current tasks.

The ministers also discussed issues of bilateral cooperation.

GDR's Fischer

LD2909132989 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 29 TASS—During a meeting here Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic Oskar Fischer assessed bilateral relations and praised their continuing development.

They stressed that agreements reached at the highest level on renovating cooperation between the USSR and the GDR are being successfully implemented.

In discussing international issues, the ministers stressed their countries' commitment to the ideas of new political thinking and the determination to advance the process of disarmament and facilitate the implementation of the united foreign policy of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

The ministers exchanged views on their countries' relations with some European nations and on several items of the U.N. General Assembly agenda.

The sides agreed that the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the GDR and the participation of a Soviet party and state delegation in the celebrations will be a milestone event in the development of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

SFRY's Loncar

LD2909131889 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 29 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze met here Budimir Loncar, Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The Yugoslav minister described the work and results of the 9th non-aligned conference of heads of state and government which was held in Belgrade recently.

Shevardnadze pointed to the growing role in the world of the Non-Aligned Movement, in which, Yugoslavia occupies a prominent place, and praised documents adopted by the conference.

He shared impressions of the Soviet-American meeting in Wyoming.

Loncar noted that the positive influence of the talks on the international situation.

In discussing international problems, the sides expressed the unanimous opinion that it would be impossible to solve a single important issue facing mankind without cuts in armaments and military spending.

They reviewed Soviet-Yugoslav relations and pointed to the need to look for new form of cooperation and to improve goods turnover.

The sides agreed that Loncar would visit the Soviet Union on October 30-31.

Bulgaria's Mladenov

PM0110214389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Dialogue Continues"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze has had a meeting with Bulgarian Foreign Minister P. Mladenov.

There was a discussion of the wide range of problems on the agenda of the UN General Assembly's 44th session. It was noted that the atmosphere at the session is considerably "warmer" than it was only a few years ago. It is generally recognized that the policy of the new thinking and the considerable progress made on the basis of it in reducing armaments both at negotiating forums and on a practical plane have contributed to this change. It was stressed that the Warsaw Pact countries, in their endeavor to establish all-embracing security, must continue to conduct an active line on achieving concrete new accords.

The ministers reviewed Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation in various spheres, which is at the high level traditional for our two fraternal countries.

Fate of GDR Refugees in FRG Embassy Viewed

PM0110141589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 89 p 3

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Shutkevich: "With an Aftertaste of Bitterness"]

[Text] Warsaw—A crowd assembles as usual in the mornings outside the FRG Embassy in Warsaw. A line for visas forms. Some want to earn money abroad, others just to visit, while yet others want to stay there permanently. However, since last Wednesday the issue of visas to Poles has been temporarily stopped here. The reason is that more than 200 GDR citizens on embassy property do not wish to return home. It is only natural that their presence should cause animated debate and comment among the crowd. Who are these people? What made them make such a decision? And, finally, what solution will they be proposed?

I managed to find out from one embassy worker that they have been accommodated in a building on Dabrowiecka Street. Even the ubiquitous newspapermen find it difficult to gain access. The building is surrounded by a fence. To see for themselves what was happening there, two American reporters had to ask an old women in a neighboring block to let them into her apartment. Colleagues of mine from the newspaper KURIER POLSKI solved the problem differently: They simply climbed over the fence, camera in hand. They later told me that they arrived just at lunchtime. People were sitting out on the grass behind the fence eating spaghetti topped with a sauce of tomatoes and copious quantities of meat. There were even cans of a famous West German beer. However, I think that for any normal person, irrespective of his citizenship or political views, even the most tasty meal would have an aftertaste of bitterness.

What is going to happen to the refugees, then? From the legal standpoint the position is that if GDR citizens travel to Poland on their own passports containing an extra sheet giving them the right to travel on the territory of Poland and Czechoslovakia, Polish border guards cannot let them into a third country. As people know, the Hungarian authorities in a similar situation have allowed GDR citizens to travel to the FRG via Austria, which has produced sharp criticism from the GDR Government. In the opinion of Warsaw newspapers, the fact that it has been possible to bring about direct talks between the interested parties marks a success for Polish diplomacy. According to some reports in the press here, these talks are now being held and could lead to a positive result. We will soon be able to see how justified those forecasts are.

GDR Paper Cited on FRG 'Pressure' To Defect

PM2809152989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 89 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov report under the rubric "Newspaper Conducts Research": "Who Is Behind the Provocation"]

[Text] Berlin—Every day more and more facts indicating that the "flight" of GDR citizens across the border between Hungary and Austria was carefully planned and organized in the FRG become known to the republic's people. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND has published an extensive review of these facts. The newspaper also reports how people who chose the illegal method of emigrating to the FRG are facing West German reality.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes: In order to urge GDR citizens not to return home, methods of psychological pressure and recruitment have been used and all kinds of promises given. All this took place in the context of claims to the "guardianship of all Germans."

The preparation of the provocative act began back in May. Numerous "specialists" appeared in Hungary's resorts among vacationers from the GDR and incited them to cross the border illegally. Leaflets were distributed with offers of jobs in the FRG. Calls to escape were stuck to cars coming from the GDR.

The newspaper notes that the FRG's actions contradict international law and the treaties concluded by it. West German passports were issued to GDR citizens without any legal basis. All this blatantly contradicts the provisions of the Vienna consular convention, which the GDR and the FRG signed on an equal footing. The FRG's actions are also incompatible with the treaties on the principles of relations between the two German states dated 21 December 1972.

How does the "golden future" promised to the confused GDR citizens look? The newspaper cites testimonies that the FRG regards them as a cheap workforce. They offer to hire qualified specialists as manual laborers.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND concludes that the talk about "humanity" and "human rights" in the FRG are lies and deception, and utter provocation only to further the revanchist policy of "restoring the German Reich within the 1937 borders."

GDR's Mies Asks FRG Not To Participate in SDI

LD2909111489 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Bonn September 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev:

Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, praised the results of the meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker in Wyoming.

In an interview with foreign journalists in Bonn, he said that the meeting would give new impetus to disarmament. Its results are also evidence that reasonable compromises and the absence of fear to conduct talks are necessary components to achieve results in this area.

At the same time the chairman censured the commitment of the U.S. Administration to the Strategic Defence

Initiative. Work on SDI will continue, despite numerous protests, including those in the United States.

The German Communist Party called on the Federal Government to forbid West German firms to participate in the SDI programme. It is regrettable, he said, that the great intellectual potential of West German scientists and engineers is used for such aims as the preparation for "Star Wars".

The German Communist Party, a part of the mass peace movement in the country, will continue campaigning for an end to the arms race and for cuts in NATO immense military programmes in which West German firms actively participate, Mies continued.

Despite a political thaw in Europe and successes in detente, munitions firms continue stepping up the production of lethal weapons, raking in huge profits. This is graphically corroborated by the planned merger between Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm and Deimler-Benz, which will result in a mammoth munitions concern. It will dictate its will to the government and parliament.

Communists also advocate sweeping changes in the Bundeswehr and cuts in its numerical strength and military budget. Funds saved thereby may be used to tackle pressing social and ecological problems, noted Mies.

Poland's Skubiszewski Welcomes Soviet Initiatives

LD2709145989 Moscow TASS in English 0742 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

Small and medium states should join in the initiatives resulting from the improved relations between the great powers, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told TASS.

He noted with satisfaction the progress in Soviet-American relations and the prospects for disarmament, about which Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze spoke at the U.N. General Assembly.

Commenting on his speech, the Polish minister praised the Soviet Union's desire to increase the role and importance of the United Nations in international affairs. Poland is satisfied with the fact, he went on to say, that Shevardnadze touched on Soviet-Polish relations and made a clear-cut statement that the Soviet Government would closely cooperate with the new Polish cabinet.

Proceeding from this statement, the Polish Government understands that the two sides will respect their international treaties and take into account mutual interests within the framework of their cooperation, Skubiszewski said.

Polish Soldiers' Remains Exhumed in Lithuania

LD2909211189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] The exhumation of the remains of Polish soldiers and officers was carried out today at the village of Kalety in Lithuania. As witnesses still living report, they were shot by Soviet detachments. The witnesses say they were not detachments of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. Among those shot was General Jozef Olszyna-Wilczynski. In the five graves opened, the remains of 3,311 murdered men were found. They will be buried with ceremony on Sunday in a mass grave in the small cemetery in the village of Kaleta.

Air Force's Yefimov Honors Bulgarian Army

PM2809103189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Sep 89 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Dedicated to the Anniversary"]

[Text] A solemn meeting marking the 45th anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Army took place on 21 September in the Moscow Military District Officers' House. Taking part in the meeting were servicemen from the capital's garrison, war and labor veterans, and Moscow labor collective representatives.

The meeting was opened by Colonel General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, delivered an address. He noted in particular that 860 generals, officers, and men of the Bulgarian People's Army had been decorated with orders of the Soviet Union in recognition of the Bulgarian People's Army's military services in the struggle against the fascists. Moscow saluted the valiant Bulgarian servicemen three times. Today, the Bulgarian and Soviet Armed Forces, as components of the indestructible military alliance of armies of socialist countries, are reliably standing guard over their peoples' revolutionary achievements and socialism and peace.

Rear Admiral I. Nikolov, military, naval, and air force attache at the Bulgarian embassy in the Soviet Union, gave an address at the meeting.

Among the guests were military, naval, and air attaches at embassies of foreign states in the USSR.

F. Spasov, Bulgarian acting charge d'affaires in the USSR, was present at the meeting.

West Europe

1939 Soviet-German Pacts Viewed

LD3009162689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Sep 89

[From the "Radio Soyuz" Program; presented by Yuliy Semenov]

[Text] [Semenov] And now a comment by a scholar on a topic which is certainly not a simple one.

Lately, a simply immense quantity of publications connected with the 50th anniversary of the 1939 Soviet-German treaties and protocols has appeared in both the central and local press. It must be said right away that this is a very sorry page of the diplomacy of Stalin and Molotov but, alas, a page which is impossible to just simply discard from history.

If you recall, at the first Congress of People's Deputies a deputies' commission was set up under the leadership of Comrade Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which was instructed to prepare detailed conclusions from and assessments of these treaties for the Second Congress of People' Deputies.

Today we will touch only on a few aspects of the problem.

The point is that, while perfectly legitimately condemning both'39 Soviet-German treaties—the August Non-aggression Treaty and the September Treaty on Friendship and Borders—some representatives of public movements, especially in the Baltic republics, are calling into doubt today's political realities.

Let's listen to the view of a specialist, Professor Vladlen Georgiyevich Sirotkin, head of a sector of the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Foreign Ministry. Talking to him is our correspondent Olga Astafyeva. Let's hear this scholar's view.

[Astafyeva] Vladlen Georgiyevich, in this year's 9th issue of the semi-official organ of the Foreign Ministry, in the MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN [INTERNATIONAL LIFE] magazine, official documents of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact were published for the first time. How would you comment on this event?

[Sirotkin] You know, this is indeed a serious event because as recently as a year ago we categorically denied the existence of secret protocols attached to these agreements. Even though, incidentally, I want to stress that both the 23d August Non-Aggression Pact and the 28th September 1939 treaty on Friendship and Borders were published at the time in our country in the open press: the first in IZVESTIYA and the second in PRAVDA, the organs of the CPSU Central Committee. As regards the secret supplements, we tried to prove for a long time that they did not exist on the basis of the fact that we were unable to find the original of these agreements.

But as a historian of diplomacy and of international relations, I must tell you that that is not an argument. There are quite a few international agreements, the originals of which were lost at the time or found many, many years after. As an example I can refer to the pact concluded between Napolean and Aleksandr the First in Tilsit. The original of this treaty was lost because the talks took place under exotic conditions, in the middle of the river Neman aboard a raft, and one of the originals sank [utopil]. But, nevertheless, this treaty was a fact and this was also a division of spheres of influence. Thus, now we have abandoned this concept, thank God. And the MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN magazine has published the texts of both agreements, including the secret supplements. And I believe this is a very serious act in the context of the new thinking, in the context of the new assessments of our foreign policy.

[Astafyeva] How do you assess the conclusion of this treaty from the point of view of the present time? Is the German-Soviet pact a juridical basis which enshrines the fact that the Baltic republics became part of the USSR?

[Sirotkin] Well, I'll reply right away to the second part of your question: It is not a juridical basis, because this pact was annulled de facto at the moment of Germany's attack on the Soviet Union on 21 June 1941. And just like any similar non-aggression pact—in just such a way a non-aggression pact was concluded with Poland, or say, Germany concluded a non-aggression pact with Estonia and Latvia—all of them lost their validity, as is also in conformity with international law, at the moment of the attack by the other state, so to speak, on its contractor.

If one speaks of the postwar set-up and of the fact that these states became part of the USSR from the point of view of international law, one must speak not of the pact, but the'45 Potsdam agreements and of the Final Act of the 1975 Helsinki European Security and Cooperation Conference. There you have, so to speak, the juridical basis for the borders on which Europe's postwar set-up rests.

[Astafyeva] Vladlen Georgiyevich, do you believe it is necessary for us to officially disassociate ourselves from Stalin's foreign policy and from the documents adopted then by means of some diplomatic act?

[Sirotkin] This is an extremely important question. The point is that in the sphere of internal policies we have disassociated ourselves from Stalin, we have disassociated ourselves from his internal policies, but in the external sphere, we continue to regard ourselves, just as was the case under Stalin, as the successors to foreign policy from Ivan the Terrible until the present time. This is not what happens in international life.

Take, for instance, the German question. Two German states exist: the FRG and the GDR, but they don't regard themselves as the successor to Hitlerite Germany, the Third Reich; they have disassociated themselves from all agreements. What prevents us from doing this?

That is why I believe that here we must take a position of principle: We cannot take upon ourselves the heritage of Stalinism because the situation now in international relations is changing fundamentally, as compared with what prevailed before. We recognize the priority of human values, we recognize the priority of international law, which previously we did not recognize, and that is why I believe, recapitulating, this question is very important.

We won't get out of this contradiction regarding the German-Soviet Pact as long we don't disassociate ourselves in just such a resolute way from Stalin's foreign policy as we disassociated ourselves from his internal policies—and now we are renouncing these policies. The UN, for example, has now become a higher priority for us. We have even paid our debts at the UN—as a member we must pay large contributions. That is to say, we are now reducing our internal agreements to a common denominator with our international obligations. That is why this is very important and I believe that the sooner we morally disassociate ourselves from the German-Soviet Pact and from the foreign policy of the Stalin period in general, the better this will be.

[Semenov] You know, comrades, I think that a condemnation of the'39 treaties and an official refusal to be the successor to Stalin's diplomacy are important in one more respect. We must knock the trump cards from the hands of those extreme separatist elements who seek to transfer the attitude towards Stalin's rule to the present center of our federation; to present the formations of the Soviet Army who guard today our western borders as some sort of occupants; and to lay the responsibility for the repressions of the prewar and postwar years on the Russian people as such.

Well, in Lithuania I recently saw for myself that such attacks do not reflect the view of the majority of this republic's population, as is also the case, I think, in Latvia and Estonia. But this does not mean of course that we must disregard such distortions of the facts, based on a sorry past. I think that it is possible to oppose such distortions of facts and attacks with a calm line of reasoning based on facts, documents, and on the realities of today when the accretions of the past are being removed one after the other.

Gorbachev To Visit Italy 29 Nov-1 Dec

LD0110130189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1232 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 1 Oct (TASS)—At the invitation of the president and Government of the Republic of Italy, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, will make a state visit to Italy from 29 November to 1 December.

Shevardnadze Meets W. European Officials at UN

Italian Counterpart De Michelis

LD2909151289 Moscow TASS in English 1050 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 29 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Italian counterpart Gianni de Michelis discussed preparations for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Italy.

De Michelis emphasised that this event is regarded in his country as history since it will be the first visit to Italy by a Soviet Leader.

The ministers reviewed the accords and documents that are being drafted for the visit. There are plans to conduct Soviet-Italian consultations on regional issues shortly.

In comparing their assessments of trends in world and European development, the ministers came to the conclusion that integrating forces prevail and that progress in disarmament is a precondition for the solution of all other burning problems.

The conversation was marked by a high degree of mutual understanding.

UK's Secretary Major

PM0110213989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Dialogue Continues"]

[Text] New York, 30 Sep—E.A. Shevardnadze has had a conversation with British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary J. Major.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the present level of Soviet-British political dialogue and the nature of contacts between the leaders of the USSR and Britain. The recent conversation in Moscow between M.S. Gorbachev and M. Thatcher was substantive and useful.

A major event is to take place in Soviet-British relations in June 1990: A British Week in the USSR, during which there will be a new summit meeting. Practical steps are being taken to prepare for it.

Cetain bilateral questions of mutual interest were also discussed in a constructive spirit.

The ministers agreed to maintain close working contact at their level. A visit by J. Major to the Soviet Union is planned for the middle of next year.

MOSCOW NEWS To Be Published in Britain

PM0210142289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 39, 24 Sep 89 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Weekly Publication of 'MN' in Britain"]

[Text] An agreement has been signed in Moscow between MN and the Maxwell-Macmillan Pergamon Publishing Corporation on starting the weekly publication of an MN English edition in London. The agreement is for a term of 15 years and provides for the distribution of the London edition in all English-speaking countries. After the Paris edition, it will be the second weekly publication of MN abroad, practically a facsimile of the Moscow edition. Until now only some trial issues of the paper have been brought out in London.

After the signing ceremony, Robert Maxwell, head of the MN partner-company, explaining the interest of publishing MN abroad, said that having concentrated on the idea of property, the West has lost all the threads of running society. The socialist system rejected the idea of property, but has come to the same result from the opposite side. He went on to say that today the USSR is attracted by the merits of this idea, and the West by its demerits. This draws both sides closer together and will probably open a new road for mankind. Moscow News is one of the channels of this reciprocal interaction.

Soviet-Norwegian Sea Rescue Exercise Held

PM0210132989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 First Edition p 4

[Captain Third Rank A. Veledeyev report under the "News, Events, Commentaries" rubric: "Distress Signal. USSR and Norwegian Rescue Workers Conduct Their First Joint Exercise at Sea"]

[Text] The recent incidents in the Barents Sea involving the Soviet "Komsomolets" nuclear-powered submarine and the "Maksim Gorkiy" passenger motor ship clearly confirmed the need to coordinate the actions of the two neighboring countries' rescue services. So the first exercise involving Soviet and Norwegian sea rescue workers has been held on the initiative of the Murmansk rescue coordination center.

"The exercise was carried out in accordance with Article 9 of the Agreement on Cooperation in Searching for and Rescuing the Victims of Disasters in the Barents Sea signed by the USSR and Norway 15 January 1986," Captain First Rank A. Zakharov, chief of the Northern Fleet Search and Rescue Service, said. "On the Soviet side, rescue ships from the Murmansk Maritime Steamship Company, the 'Sevryba' Association, the 'Arktikmorneftegazrazvedka' Administration, and the Murmansk combined air detachment rescue helicopter took part in the exercise. The Northern Fleet was represented by a SB-406 salvage tug captained by A. Zaytsev and a helicopter commanded by Captain S. Gorelov. On the Norwegian side, rescue service helicopters and coast-guard ships took part in the exercise."

The exercise began with a Norwegian helicopter depositing a special buoy transmitting a simulated distress signal at sea. Dummies were scattered here to simulate people in the water. The rescue forces coped successfully with the training exercise. Thus, two "victims" were hoisted aboard the SB-406. Captain Gorelov's helicopter "rescued" the same number.

But the exercise also revealed the complexities and problems involved in organizing cooperation between Soviet and Norwegian rescue workers and perfecting joint operations. The linguistic barrier also took its toll.

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze Talk With Argentine President Detailed

PM0110150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Dialogue Continues"]

[Text] New York, 30 Sep—E.A. Shevardnadze has had a meeting with Argentine President C. Menem.

Mutual satisfaction was expressed at the state of Soviet-Argentine relations and cooperation between the two countries in the world arena. The sides noted a coincidence or proximity of Soviet and Argentine positions on such key issues as arms limitation, the establishment of a new economic order, and environental protection. E.A. Shevardnadze spoke highly of Argentina's role in world affairs as a member of the "Group of Six," who are putting forward important disarmament initiatives.

E.A. Shevardnadze and C.S. Menem advocated the further expansion of Soviet-Argentine ties in the economic, cultural, and other spheres. Perestroyka in the USSR is creating conditions for bringing new forms of cooperation into play, in particular for the establishment of direct contacts between Soviet republics and oblasts and Argentine provinces and between cities and even individual enterprises in the two countries.

The conversation confirmed the heightened significance the two countries' capitals attach to a Soviet-Argentine dialogue.

Supreme Soviet Session

Glasnost Committee Works Out Draft Law on Press

LD2109202389 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] The Soviet parliamentary committee on glasnost and human rights has worked out a draft law on the press. This has been announced at a news conference attended by Boris Markovnikov of Radio Moscow, and he has the details:

Such a law has been a neccessity for a long time. The freedom of the press was declared in this country decades ago, but there has been no reliable guarantees of it. The media are in effect censored. The question of who has the right to publish remains open. It was said at the news conference that over 500 unofficial organizations publish their papers and magazines after being denied permission by the authorities. They are often prosecuted for doing so. In a word, in this country, where democracy and glasnost are gaining momentum, a law on the press is vital. The work on the document differed fundamentally from our previous legislative practice. Usually legislation was outlined by interested agencies. As a result it was often defective because departmental interests not always coincide with public interests [sentence as heard]. This time, however, people's deputies got an alternative draft law outlined by a group of young lawyers and journalists on their own initiative. This made matters easier for the MPs. Now here is what deputy-chairman of the parliamentary committee, Boris Nikolskiy, said:

[Begin Nikolskiy recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The first article of the draft law says that the press is free and no censorship is allowed. Only a court can decide whether a state secret has been disclosed or a citizen slandered. Secondly, and this is very important, the draft law says we can create new media and how. We don't have to ask for permission to start a newspaper. Now you only have to register it. There were heated debates on the issue of who has the right to start a new publication. Under the Vienna agreements any individual has the right to circulate information. We share this viewpoint. Not only public organizations and agencies but individuals as well can publish their papers and magazines. [end recording]

Members of the committee on glasnost were asked about the rights given to journalists by the draft law. The answer came from a committee member and journalist, Anatoliy Yezhelev:

[Begin Yezhelev recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] For the first time a draft law has said that the journalist has the right to decline an assignment if it contradicts his convictions. The founder of a publication is not allowed to interfere in the professional work of the editorial office. The draft law provides even for criminal responsibility for such interference. [end recording]

When Boris Nikolskiy was asked about the prospects of the draft law he said he was optimistic and believed it would be passed because three parliamentary committees stood behind the document. He hoped this would make due impression on the Supreme Soviet.

Bill on Voter Instructions Drafted 21 Sep

LD2109205289 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Supreme Soviet committee on governing councils, administration and self-management today rejected the fourth variant of a bill on instructions to people's deputies from constituents and mass organisations.

The group of MP's [member of parliament] entrusted with drawing up the new law later continued editing it with the help of scientists and other specialists.

Many clauses, including those on the realisation of voter instructions, are still in need of improvement.

The idea is to increase the accountability of not only the people's deputies but also the government agencies and mass organisations concerned for the fulfilment of voter instructions.

Reasons for Cheap Goods Shortage Analyzed

PM2909144389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Ye. Sorokin, G. Yastrebtsov article: "Where Are You, Inexpensive Goods? Joint Sitting of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Commission for Question of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy and USSR People's Control Committee Held Yesterday in Kremlin"—first two paragraphs are reader's letter and editorial introduction]

[Text] "Esteemed Editorial Office! Yesterday I bought a women's sweater in a store (so-called model no 824) for R20. I came home and decided to show it off to my neighbor. But I was taken aback when she said: 'Why did you pay R20 for it—it only costs R7? What did you do—get it from a cooperative?' We began to look into the matter. It seems that everything is 'above board.' It is just that my sweater, which is exactly the same as the R7 one, has the letter "C" on the label. It has been explained to me that this signifies contractual price. It seems to me that this is typical speculation by a state enterprise. The example set by cooperatives is obviously contagious...."

We recently received this letter from N. Fedorova in Leningrad. But there are many such letters in the PRAVDA mailbag. People are extremely worried by the headlong, uncontrollable rise in prices and by the disappearance of inexpensive goods from the shelves.

What is happening to our consumer market? The participants in the session in the Kremlin tried hard to find the

answer to this question. What now seems a long time ago, we welcomed enterprises' transition to new economic management conditions and argued in favor of giving them broader rights in setting prices and tariffs for new types of goods and services. We were confident that this would give extra economic incentives to increase output, renew the structure and range of goods, and improve their quality.

But what do we have in practice? The population's provision with goods is certainly not improving. People's deputies and members of the USSR People's Control Committee said with alarm that unsatisfied demand for goods and services now stands in excess of R70 billion, according to one set of figures, and R100 billion, according to another set. And now the situation in the market has become even worse. For example, in the 1st half of this year the population's money income increased by 12.1 percent in comparison to the same period last year, while the output of goods rose by only 5.6 percent, despite the fact that an increase of 10 percent had been envisaged. The increase in money income on top of the chronic shortages has given rise to inflation and the depreciation of the ruble. Industrial enterprises that hold a monopoly still have the consumer by the throat and dictate terms to him, arbitrarily raising prices for goods which are certainly not of the best quality.

People's deputies and the USSR People's Control Committee have carried out detailed checks on more than 150 enterprises and organizations in 40 oblasts, krays, and republics across the country. It seems that the price control measures outlined by the government in January 1989 are essentially being undermined. Prices are galloping ahead much faster than the production of goods in physical terms. In the period January through August, light industry output was 4.6 percent higher than last year in terms of retail prices but only 0.8-2 percent higher in physical terms. Prices are now higher for literally everything: clothing and footwear, fabric and socks, woolens and silks.... This kind of price inflation is highly advantageous to the monopolists. Naturally! They can produce fewer goods and still rake in the money. For example, at the Ivanovo Spinning and Finishing Factory virtually all output growth has been "secured" by raising prices. The same is true of the Kaliningrad Sewn Goods Association and dozens of other light industry enterprises.

Permission to produce goods with the indexes "C" (contractual price) and "N" (new product) has been a real goldmine for them. We also learned with amazement that there is also an index "T" in production. It seems that this signifies temporary contractual prices at which inferior goods are sold, passed off as top quality goods. This is absurd! Alas, if only these were isolated cases....

Temporary prices for goods bearing the index "N" and contractual prices are established, as a rule, without any economic justification and without consideration of real expenditure. Essentially, people are playing the market. At the Vinogradov Footwear Factory in Transcarpathian Oblast output with the index "C" has increased 7.7 times, while at the Ivanovo "Krasnaya Talka" Factory it has increased 2.5 times. What does the consumer stand to gain from this? Absolutely nothing—because plan fulfillment and overfulfillment are only measured in rubles.

The session in the Kremlin was attended by the leaders of a number of ministries and departments responsible for the prices situation in the country. However, neither I. Gorbachev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, S. Sarukhanov, USSR deputy trade minister, nor other departmental representatives were able to give a clear answer as to how to solve the situation. Olympian calm prevailed in their speeches. As in the old era of stagnation, they talked about "certain shortcomings," referred to "objective difficulties," and gave assurances that the "vigorous measures" they are taking will be effective. We do not know how effective these measures really are, but things are certainly no easier for the ordinary consumer at present because of them.

Many people's deputies and members of the USSR People's Control Committee spoke about this with agitation. Their clear, specific proposals on how to improve our financial system and stop the uncontrolled rise in prices could perfectly well form the basis of a state price control program—unlike the cold assurances given by the ministries.

They proposed, in particular, to abolish the present system of using the "C" and "N" indexes. In order to restore social justice, they suggested that the prices of all types of goods sold in rural areas be brought up to city prices. The practice of different retail prices for different regions should be abolished.

In addition to this, they submitted a proposal to improve the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) in such a way as to stipulate that if an enterprise sells mass-produced goods at high contractual prices rather than at the list price, the profit generated from this will be confiscated and paid into the budget.

Deputies spoke approvingly of the statement by the recent plenum of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions proposing to freeze retail prices for basic consumer goods and fruit and vegetable products and eliminate the shortage of baby foods, detergents, sugar, and a number of other commodities over the coming months.

They proposed to sharply increase the interest rate on savings bank accounts as one cardinal measure to combat inflation. It is certainly true that it is becoming unprofitable for people to keep their money in savings bank accounts, because it very quickly depreciates. In the opinion of many of the session participants, financial recovery could be aided by broader use of the joint-stock form of ownership in the country, the purchase of consumer goods abroad, and the elimination of defects in the anti-alcohol campaign.

It is common knowledge that economic laws will not tolerate coercion. They are always objective and cannot be circumvented. The retail prices problem cannot be

solved by administrative methods alone, but control over these prices must be tough and constant. That is the conclusion reached by the participants in the joint session in the Kremlin.

Further on Supreme Soviet Proceedings 26 Sep

Debates Cooperatives

PM2909161389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS correspondents B. Grishchenko, I. Novikov, B. Orlov, and L. Shvedova report: "It's a Stormy First Reading. Parliamentary Correspondents Report From the Kremlin"]

[Excerpt] The electronic system involved in the Soviet parliament's work recorded for the first time the results of a vote preceded by stormy debates on a question which concerns our entire society.

On 26 September the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, opened by M.S. Gorbachev, immediately got down to discussing one of the most acute questions—the present and future of the national economy's cooperative sector. L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delivered a report on the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the law "On the Cooperative Movement in the USSR."

What is fundamentally new in the government's approach to developing the cooperative movement in the country? First and foremost, the government spokesman said, we need a civilized system for the cooperative movement. The tendency for the universal statization of the economy must be overcome. Characteristically, the speaker stressed, it is precisely the cooperative sector which is taking the first serious steps toward forming a socialist market, has brought into many energetic and businesslike people the economic sphere, and is helping to loosen the diktat of state monopolism in many spheres, which has been going on for decades. It is precisely this sector's development which prompted the USSR Supreme Soviet to make amendments to the Law on the State Enterprise.

At the same time—and a lot is being said and written about this—there are many negative phenomena in the cooperative movement's development. It is clear that so far competition between the two sectors of the socialist economy has not worked in favor of people, of consumers. One monopoly has been replaced by another. This replacement is burdened by all kinds of fraud and abuses which could not be concealed from the public and which provoke its legitimate indignation.

This is why there is a need to accelerate the improvement of legislation on cooperatives. Everything which distorts this sector's essence and discredits it in people's eyes should be removed from it with a firm hand. And, the speaker said, the government's position is firm and unambiguous here.

But it is not the consequences of the negative phenomena which should be combated, but their root causes—this idea largely determined the course and tone of the debate. There are reasons for the deputies' concern. Why has the state sector, in spite of all its might and comprehensive support, for decades been unable to create even minimally acceptable conditions for consumers? Why year in, year out to this day are vegetables and fruit, of which moreover there is an acute shortage in trade and public catering, left to rot?

It seems, many participants in the debate said, that the state sector is not averse to concealing its sluggishness and its inefficiency by citing interference by cooperative members. This is how the "image of the economic enemy" at which people's anger and the public's indignation are directed is created.

But, the report and speeches noted, parliament must rise above emotions and look into the future so it can decide unambiguously: Do our society and Soviet people need a cooperative sector or not? To sum up the opinions, then most were in favor of it.

But both the keynote speaker and a number of people's deputies persistently stressed the need to provide for a sharp increase in the role of local soviets in regulating cooperatives' activity. It is precisely they which have been assigned the main role in determining the priorities of cooperative activity in the light of the region's most urgent needs. In this respect the role of deputies' commissions, particularly in regulating the procedure for opening and eliminating cooperative enterprises, is increasing. But, carefully weighing up all the pros and cons of the cooperative sector at the present stage of its development, many speakers mentioned as an important task the formation of a general line of creating equal conditions for enterprises in both sectors of the socialist economy.

Cooperatives are called upon to eliminate the bottlenecks in the work of the economy's state sector, Deputy A.A. Korshunov said in particular. An end must be put to the practice of registering cooperatives which produce nothing but only steal from the state, which means from the people. The speaker also posed the following question: Why did the main speaker fail to note how keenly the problem of the cooperative movement was discussed by the participants in the recent All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] plenum. The speaker proposed formulating a single law on the enterprise which would place on an equal footing those who work in the state and cooperative sectors. Then, he added, situations like that in his own aviation plant in Tashkent, from which skilled specialists are literally fleeing to cooperatives, would not arise. The deputy supported the proposal of his colleague M.A. Bocharov:

To examine a number of draft laws placed on the session's agenda as a package.

What are some cooperatives like? Deputy I. Safarov argued. A cab driver from a Moscow cooperative demanded R15 from me for a trip which was worth a maximum of R3, he said. This is a rip-off and cannot be tolerated!

The main law—about earned income—is not working here, Deputy N.S. Petrushenko noted. He submitted a proposal to set up in the USSR Supreme Soviet a commission to combat the mafia.

The idea was expressed of the need to tighten up monitoring of cooperatives' activity. As one deputy said, the mechanism of dishonesty needs to be destroyed in all spheres.

The main speaker concluded by answering his opponents. A number of deputies, he said, reproached the government for not giving its assessment of the decisions of the AUCCTU plenum. But why shouldn't the AUCCTU use its right of legislative initiative and come up with an alternative draft law on cooperatives?

The first reading of the draft law under discussion was stormy. It reflected public sentiments—to clearly find out who is who in the cooperative movement and to separate genuine workers from hangers-on and sharks. Many people believe this condition to be crucial for the successful development of the cooperative movement and for guaranteeing it the people's support.

Cooperatives still have to win that support by their deeds and an honest and interested stance regarding the purchaser, the client, and the consumer whom it is called upon to serve. Meanwhile, expressing the opinion of their voters, a number of people's deputies voiced a negative attitude to cooperatives. It is no accident that such words as "robbery," "hatred," and "dishonesty" were heard in the debate.

But common sense prevailed over emotions—and this is one more sign of our parliament's growing maturity. Putting forward many specific proposals directed at overcoming negative phenomena in the cooperative sphere, the people's deputies resolved by 370 votes to 69 to approve the draft law in its first reading. Now the debate on it will switch to the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and the chambers' commissions. [Passage omitted]

Adopts Taxation Decision

LD3009022689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1044 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow 29 Sep (TASS)—On 26 September the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision "on measures for regulating the growth in resources channelled into pay by cooperatives in the production and services spheres, by leaseholders' organizations and by enterprises of other public organizations".

1. It is established that in the fourth quarter of 1989 and in 1990 cooperatives in the production and services spheres, leaseholders' organizations and enterprises of other public organizations (apart from public organizations of invalids, their establishments, training-production enterprises and associations) will pay into the budget according to their place of registration a tax on the growth of resources channelled into pay above three percent, according to a scale of rates set by the USSR Supreme Soviet decision of August 1989 "On the taxation of the wage funds of state enterprises (associations)."

2. For cooperatives in the production and services spheres the growth in resources channelled into pay is determined in relation to the resources spent for these purposes in the corresponding quarter of last year, calculated for the actual number of members of the cooperative in the current quarter.

For newly created cooperatives growth in resources channelled into pay is determined on the basis of the average monthly pay last year of a worker in cooperatives of a similar type and located in the given territory (union republic without oblast divisions, autonomous republic, kray, oblast, rayon, or city) calculated by the financial bodies, and of the actual number of workers in the cooperative in the current period.

With the aim of stimulating the growth of production of consumer goods and volumes of the provision of services to the population it is established that the indicated taxation procedure on the decision of local soviets of people's deputies may be waived regarding an increase in funds channelled into pay caused by an increase in the production and sale of these goods and services.

The USSR Council of Ministers should ratify the procedure and conditions for granting other tax concessions to cooperatives.

3. For leaseholders' organizations, the increase in funds for pay is taxed under the procedure determined for state enterprises. Recently formed leaseholders' organizations calculate the increase in funds for pay in relation to the funds which were directed to pay by the enterprise or its subunits, on which basis the leaseholders' organizations have been formed.

4. For the enterprises of public organizations the increase of funds for pay is taxed under the procedure established for state enterprises."

Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has signed the decision.

Supreme Soviet Committees, Commissions Meet 28 Sep

Primakov Chairs Commission on Privileges

LD2909100589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 28 September in its "Vremya"

newscast carries a 3-minute video report by an unidentified correspondent on a 28 September meeting in the Kremlin chaired by Yevgeniy Primakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee International Policy Commission, of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies' commission on examining the privileges enjoyed by various categories of citizens. The correspondent says that no one is calling for a total leveling of privileges, but everyone knows that there are many people in the country who enjoy unlawful and unmerited privileges. It is now time for the principles of justice, morality and expediency to be held as the highest ones, according to the deputies. Today's meeting considered in detail problems connected with medical services, he notes.

The correspondent reports that: "The chairman and most of the deputies consider that the existing territorial and departmental principle of constructing our health care needs to be preserved. It is accepted throughout the whole world. But in this respect it is categorically necessary to give up the financing of any departmental medical establishments at the expense of general health care. The commission recommends that all the outpatient clinics, hospitals, and sanatoria of the various main directorates of the Ministry of Health that are financed from the general health care budget be handed over to the relevant departments." The commission, he says, is also proposing that up to R2.500 million be additionally allocated from the 1990 state budget for the development of territorial health care. "The commission adopted a decision to draw up specific proposals in the commission's working groups to also eliminate unfounded privileges connected with pension provisions, housing, transport and services through trade, and cultural establishments," the correspondent concludes.

Committees Discuss Plans, Budget, Health Care

LD2909110189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] On Thursday, 28 September, discussions continued in the committees and commissions of the Soviet Union's supreme body of state power. At the session of the Committee for People's Health Care the draft state plan and the draft state budget for 1990 were examined. Judging from the reactions of the committee members, they were not at all satisfied with the budget envisaged—the sum of the allocations on this vitally important sphere—R26.7 billion. The possibility is being examined of adding R3.0 to R5.0 billion to the money allocated for health protection.

At the session of the Committee on Science, People's Education, Culture, and Upbringing, the members of the committee also insisted on an increase in the allocations for education. The discussion on the subject is continuing.

At the Committee on Issues of Ecology and the Rational Utilization of Natural Resources, the deputies are insisting on urgent nature protection problems which should in their opinion be resolved in a planned manner.

The Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order examined the draft law on the press and other mass media. Envisaged in it, in particular, is the abolition of censorship, the right of all state and public organizations and other associations and invidiual citizens to set up mass media organizations.

The work of the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet is continuing.

Supreme Soviet Committees, Commissions Meet 29 Sep

People's Deputies Discuss Unemployment

LD2909191489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Report by Olga Vasilenko with recorded passages by Academician Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of Gosplan]

[Excerpts] [Vasilenko] Today, the people's deputies are continuing to discuss and study the drafts of the plans and the budget of the country for 1990 which have been presented to the Supreme Soviet by the USSR government. [passage omitted]

Now, esteemed radio listeners, I would like to tell you what happened in the first half of the day at the session of the Commission of the Soviet of the Union on Issues of Labor, Prices and Social Policy. Why am I turning to that commission in particular? The fact of the matter is, that there is a situation there which is connected with phenomena which we, on the whole, have not spoke about out loud until now—that is unemployment, refugees, the migration of the people, and so forth.

However, everying in turn. Today that commission is studying the indicators of the plan and budget connected with the composite balance of labor resources.

Academician Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of Gosplan, reproted on its behalf. He noted that the essence and place of that balance is very significant in the structure of our life, because, recently, such serious changes have taken place in the employment and unemployment figures that it all needs intense study if we want to fulfill our plans. The departure point of determining the balance of labor resources is the population; the rapporteur spoke about this at the very beginning.

[Sitaryan] In 1990, according to estimates, the population will increase by 2.5 million people and reach 290.3 million as compared with 270.7 million in 1985. As before, the most rapid rates of population growth will take place in the republics of Central Asia and Azerbaijan. In the Ukraine, in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, in the Baltic republics, the rate will remain moderate; there will be a small growth of about 0.2, 0.8 percent. The increase in the urban population is expected to continue after 1990 and on the whole, it will grow by 2.7 percent; we estimate the figure for the urban population in 1990 to be 194 million people. [passage omitted]

[Vasilenko] Academician Sitaryan named the number of unemployed in our country. It is reaching 1.2 million and deputies spoke of 5 and 6 million. So it is difficult for pensioners who are fully fit to remain in work. There is another sector of the population that does not work; but they are not unemployed, but are the so-called potential reserve of the labor force. This is how Academician Sitaryan described that reserve.

[Sitaryan] According to our estimates, the number involved is 6.7 million. It consists primarily of second and third members of a family, mainly women with underage children and mothers with large families, whose involvement in social population is necessarily hampered. Moreover from the social perspective of upbringing and so forth, it is hardly likely that it would be expedient to even try and change this. In individual regions, particularly in Central Asia and Transcaucasia, in the south of the Russian Federation and the west of the Ukraine, in the so-called domestic economy [domashnoe khozyaystvo] there is a considerable part of the male population who are capable of work—above all, young people who should primarily be involved in the work of the national economy. Therefore, 2 years ago, in planning methodology, a new [words indistinct] was introduced; that is the possible reserve of persons who could be involved in the national economy. From that figure, we gave an expert evaluation of this potential and of the demand which should be taken into account when making our plans.

[Vasilenko] So that problem has been raised. In the country we have a large sector of the population which is not employed. What should be done? Perhaps a fund for the unemployed should be set up? Perhaps, so deputies say. On the whole it is a new problem, but as it turned out so far no one has studied it. Now it is being entrusted to the relevant ministries and departments but Sitaryan himself proposes well, the following ways of combatting unemployment.

[Sitaryan] In repubilcs where unemployment among the population is greatest, production should be developed at the quickest rates so that new additional jobs are created. We believe that these regions should be the ones where work in expanding cooperative and individual work activity should be stepped up to a greater extent. The most important thrust is stepping up the payload of already existing capacities and raising the shift coefficient of the work of enterprises. We consider that is a very real and important reserve and more intensive use should be made of it. Meanwhile, unfortunately, in the republics that reserve is not being used enough. further, we are orienting the republics, and consider that the problem of employment especially for women, may be resolved by not having a full working day nor a full working week. Although the number of workers taking advantage of this scheme has doubled over the last 10 years, the proportion of them among the white and blue collar workers is still not significant; generally throughout the USSR the number stands at 941,000 people or 0.8 percent. [passage omitted]

[Sitaryan] "The refugee problem is a particular problem. It is not just an economic problem but also a political problem. Naturally when we prepared the proposals and we are working on them now, there were two versions. The first was the proposal to create a special organization to deal with the problems of refugees. There was even the proposal that this organization be set up on a financially autonomous basis although I am very bothered by why such an organization needs to be set up on a financially autonomous basis. We consider that first of all, government bodies should deal with that, taking account of the fact that it is an unusual distribution of production forces because it occurs during emergency situations. [passage omitted]

Committee Drafts Property Law

LD2909210989 Moscow TASS in English 1954 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for Economic Reform today concluded drafting the law on property in the Soviet Union. This document has become a result of nearly two weeks of debates on the concept of the law which is to become the basis of the new stage of economic reform in the country. The specific character of this work was that for the first time a parliamantary committee, alongside a draft law tabled by the country's government analyzed on an equal basis other draft laws worked out by research institutes, associations of enterprises, and groups of scientists.

"We tried to take into consideration the variety of views on the problem of property set out in the drafts", Valentin Vologzhin, chairman of the Committee on Economic Reform, said in an interview to TASS. "As a result of prolonged and complex work we have drafted a document which we regard to be the best version of a synthesis of various opinions. Our main task is not to give priority to some or other viewpoint but to arrive at the common understanding of the ways of resolving this problem important for the development of the country's economy."

The decision about further work on new draft laws in the area of economy, also on the law of property will be adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet after a report of the government on Monday.

Another parliamentary committee, on science, public education, and culture, discussed today the sections of the state plan and budget for 1990 associated with the development of science. Eleven billion roubles, or 2.3 per cent of budgetary expenditures, as compared with 7.5 billion roubles in the current tax, is allocated from the budget for the financing of science next year.

Addressing Deputies Valdimir Durasov, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, noted that in drafting the plan special attention was

given to the development of research on 14 purpose-oriented programs ensuring scientific and technological progress, scientific developments aimed at solution of social tasks and the development of experimental basis for science.

Joint Supreme Soviet Session Opens 2 Oct

LD0210073689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] The session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is now opening in the Kremlin at a joint sitting. Deputies of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities have gathered. They will discuss a number of draft laws, the work on which was done earlier at the committees and commissions of the highest organs of power of the country. In a talk with television journalists (?they were highly praised) by Comrade Medvedev, CPSU Central Commitee politburo member, whose interview you can see on Central Television today at 2000 [1700 GMT].

Ryzhkov To Speak on New Laws

LD0210074689 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) continues in the Kremlin. At a joint sitting of the two chambers today, chaired by President Mikhail Gorbachev, the deputies will hear a report by Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov on a large package of new draft laws on economic issues.

These include the laws on ownership, on land, on leasing and lease relations and on a single tax system.

The parliament is also expected to consider an amnesty for former servicemen of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, who committeed crimes and were taken prisoner.

In the afternoon, the Supreme Soviet will hear a government report about the state of the country's railways.

Ryzhkov Bills of 'Strategic Importance'

LD0210083289 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet has begun debating crucial bills on property, leasing of land, taxation, and status of the socialist enterprise. The bills were submitted by the prime minister, Nikolay Ryzhkov, who said they were of strategic importance to the restructuring of the economy and creation of a genuine market.

Dwelling on suggestions that private property should be introduced in the country the prime minister said it would be a step backwards from the public property, which could form the basis of a renewed socialist economy.

Mr Ryzhkov said public licensed companies in the West could serve as examples of public property. He added that the government favored the pluralism of property forms in the USSR, including individual property, communal property, republican property, and Union property.

In developing this new farmework of ownership in the country, Prime Minister Ryzhkov said, great attention should be paid to carefully balancing the interests of all constituent republics.

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Shcherbitskiy, Ivashko Interviewed

PM2909190789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 second Edition p 2

[Interview with M.S. Gorbachev, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, and V.A. Ivashko by correspondents M. Odinets and I. Tikhomirov: "After the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Kiev—As has been reported, a Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum has relieved V.V. Shcherbitskiy as Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary and, following a secret ballot, he has been succeeded by V.A. Ivashko. Immediately after the plenum our correspondents talked with CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, and V. A. Ivashko.

[M.S. Gorbachev] The plenum demonstrated the great potential of the Ukrainian party organization, which bears the responsibility for implementing the perestroyka policy in such a vast republic. It was an open discussion, a discussion which occurred in the spirit of democracy. The atmosphere was good and I think that is very valuable and important. The continuity was apparent. People value what has been done over the decades. It was evident also in the attitude toward Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy as a human being who has worked very hard, not content with what has been achieved. in my view, his speech at this plenum was most critical [Kritichnyy]. He has always been known for this kind of approach.... Take his request to step down: When I visited the Ukraine in February he was feeling his age and was conscious of a deterioration in his health, and he talked about leaving. At the CPSU Central Committee September plenum his request had to be accepted. He is someone who is well known in the party and the country and he has lived a full [bolshoy] life. His political and practical activity in various posts certainly deserves a positive appraisal.

The question of the party organization leadership of a republic like the Ukraine is extremely important and, conscious of this, the Communists have made their choice. The very procedure for selecting a candidate for the first secretary post refuted the opinions of critics who cannot see that dialectical processes are taking place in the Ukrainian Communist Party. I am confident that a

very fine political leadership nucleus has taken shape in the Ukrainian Communist Party, and this is particularly important at the stage where new forms and methods of work are crystallizing.

Continuity consists primarily in taking all the good things that have accumulated in the context of the political and economic reform and the whole spiritual recovery of society and giving a boost to the dynamics of the perestroyka mechanisms. A competent, harmonious nucleus of Ukrainain Communist Party leaders can do this. It has a big role to play. If perestroyka starts to falter in the Ukraine, it will do so all over the country. So I wish the Central Committee and all Communists in the republic successful activity and creative, innovative work to implement political perestroyka in the Ukraine's specific conditions, taking into account both its achievements and problems, and I hope that they consistently solve the tasks of perestroyka. I believe that there has been marked movement in all spheres in the republic on the plane of comprehending and seeking new methods and approaches. Perhaps "nudges" from elsewhere have helped. But no matter.

The Ukraine has always been renowned for its working people. Looking after them, concern for people will help eliminate many problems, and this, in turn, will open up new paths. I can see that the republic's Communists and working people are primed for action. So success will come. It will be a great help for the entire party and the center.

I feel that the new leader—Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko—has the support not only of Communists—this is most vital. After the CPSU Central Committee September Plenum I met in Moscow with the republic's party Central Committee members and I asked them to consult with Communists and labor collectives—whom they would recommend for the post of first secretary. The consultation took place. It was extensive and principled. Vladimir Antonovich was chosen from many candidates. He is distinguished by great organizational qualities and firm ideological positions, he is a hard worker and he can develop relationships with people. Six candidates were discussed at the plenum and two were put on the ballot. More than two-thirds of the plenum participants voted for Ivashko. To all appearances, he is capable in the present social-political and economic situation in the Ukraine of leading the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and ensuring perestroyka's vigorous progress.

But I want to wish Vladimir Vasilyevich well, I want to wish him happiness and good health.

[V.V. Shcherbitskiy] To be frank, it was not easy taking such an important decision to go after working long and hard. But there comes a time in every person's life when he has to do it.

I have been entrusted with important posts over a long period. All these years I have paid special attention to organizational and ideological unity in the party, to the steady implementation of its policy.

I am well aware that it has been entirely due to the reliable support of my work comrades that I have been able to do all that I have done on the way from plant party organizer to first secretary of the Ukrainian Communuist Party. Since joining the CPSU in 1941 I have worked in collectives of internationalists, whose very important job has been that of strengthening friendship with all the peoples, above all with the Russian people, who are so close to us.

Now that certain people are trying to push other people onto the path of separatism, unbridled nationalism, and chauvinism, I am deeply confident that the Ukrainian people will stand firm in positions of internationalism and will increase their efforts to improve economic efficiency and people's living standards.

As for the outcome of today's plenum, first of all I want to wish wholeheartedly the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee harmonious and fruitful work. In cordially congratulating Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko on his election to that important post, I want to say that he has all the requisite qualities and warrants the trust of the CPSU Central Committee and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. I am sure that the republic's Communist Party will bring to a conclusion the crucial work of perestroyka and it has been, is, and always will be a fighting detachment of the CPSU. This is the primary guarantee of the freedom and independence of the Soviet Ukraine and of our people's happiness and well-being.

[V.A. Ivashko] I am deeply conscious of how big a responsibility it is to head the Ukrainian party organization. Particularly now, at a time of radical perestroyka in all spheres of society's life. I am conscious of this, therefore I pin my main hopes on support, comradely assistance, and mutual understanding on the part of the Politburo and members of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party, local party committees, and primary party organizations, and all Communists.

I believe that the main thing for all of us now, during the period of preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress is to ensure a sharp change of direction in the activity of party organizations and to strengthen their authority through real, concrete action. It is our duty, and I consider it a very important duty for me, to strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of party ranks. Now, more than ever, we must not lose the political initiative and swim with the stream. Even now cadre work is the party organizations' main means of influencing the state of affairs. It is important that candidates for promotion should always be on view, proving themselves by their actions. This is the line we are taking in the reports and elections at primary party organizations.

In preparing for the upcoming elections of Ukrainian people's deputies and local soviet deputies, we are taking

a responsible approach to the elaboration of the Ukrainian Communist Party election platform.

I am well aware of the current situation's complexity. The pace of renewal in various spheres of the republic's life (and you will certainly agree with this) is clearly inadequate. The people are dissatisfied about very many things. What we need above all is immediate measures to improve the situation in the socioeconomic sphere and achieve substantial advances in improving the actual well-being of all categories of the population. The key task here is to elaborate and put into practice the principles of Ukrainian economic independence in the country's unified national economic complex. We will pay paramount attention to solving the housing and food problems, filling the market with essential goods, radically improving public health, and also to tackling nature conservation tasks and to the complex issues of nuclear energy, connected, in particular, with the Chernobyl accident and the construction of the Crimean Nuclear Power Station.

Certainly, the perestroyka processes are most dynamic in the spiritual sphere. Glasnost is expanding. Incidentally, our plenum was broadcast on television. Ethnic self-awareness is developing and interest in the historical past is growing. We must channel these processes in a constructive direction in order to ensure the overall flourishing of Ukrainian culture and satisfaction of the ethnic cultural needs of the members of all the nations in the republic.

In all areas of work we are faced with very complex tasks. I am sure we will cope with them.

Further Reportage on Gorbachev at Ukraine Plenum

PM2909225589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Frankly and in a Businesslike Manner; M.S. Gorbachev's Meetings in Kiev"]

[Text] Kiev, 28 Sep—Among the participants in the plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee which took place here today were many workers. And naturally many of them expressed a wish to meet with M.S. Gorbachev who was taking part in the plenum's work. In the intervals between the sittings businesslike and frank conversations took place.

One of them was with representatives of the mining cities of the Ukraine. N.Ye. Podgornyy, chairman of the territorial committee of workers of the coal industry drew Mikhail Sergeyevich's attention to the fact that the USSR Council of Ministers resolution on measures to ensure the implementation of joint decisions adopted by the government commissions with the participation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] and the strike committees of the working people of the country's coal regions are being carried into effect too slowly. The supply of industrial and food goods to the miners is improving but still not in the degree promised. The improvements in the supply of construction materials for individual builders and for the repair of housing are virtually negligible. But the main point is that work is proceeding too slowly on the transfer of enterprises to full autonomy, as is work on the introduction of new economic management methods.

The miners reported that at a number of mines incidents are still occuring time and again. It is very important, they said, that in the present difficult situation matters should not get swept along to the point of new stoppages in the work of the mines. After all, even now, 2 months after the wave of miners' strikes, the lost ground has still not been made up.

M.S. Gorbachev: I have already spoken about this and I repeat once again: We met the demands of the miners half way and it was important not to lose their trust. However, from the viewpoint of the situation in the economy, any strike today is pernicious for the country. This is why at every mine, and in every production association the miners must instill order as quickly as possible with their own hands, strengthen liaison with the party and trade union committes, and act with them. The social measures outlined in the coal basins must become tangible for each working person, for each inhabitant of the region. The main thing now is not to let the dialogue descend into ultimatums, but to create by one's highly productive work the necessary groundwork for the solution of social and everyday issues.

N.Ye. Podgornyy: On the contrary, Mikhail Sergeyevich, we are using our strength and worker solidarity as a guarantee for a stable situation at the mines. Our committee is categorically opposed to strikes. Only various "emissaries" are repeatedly eggging on the workers.

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, those who would like to take advantage of the dissatisfaction of the miners and railroadworkers and who want to act on behalf of the working class for their own selfish interests have multiplied considerably. The concerns of the workers and working people are essentially alien to them. They think only about their own abitions. And it is a good thing that they have not led you astray and that you have shown firmness.

Amid a group of plenum participants who had come from Odessa the theme was different—about cooperatives. There is a growing disssatisfaction among the people at the spiralling prices, said A.F. Rotar, leader of a team of dockers and machine operators at the port of Ilichevsk.

At the USSR Supreme Soviet session, M.S. Gorbachev said, we are carefully examining this issue. In principle, attitudes to cooperatives differ and they depend on what sort of contribution they make to the fullfillment of the social tasks of perestroyka. But the Supreme Soviet cannot know how things stand in each city, in each village. This is more easily seen locally. Therefore it was suggested that the local organs in conjunction with the deputies' commissions be entrusted with deciding the

question of which cooperatives should be given the go-ahead. Recently at a meeting with workers I advised them to adopt the experience of the people of Leningrad who have adopted a decision on registring all cooperatives. Those of them which are essential to society, that are useful, the Leningraders decided, must be defended and supported and those which are engaged in grabbing should be closed down. I think that there are plenty of talented people in Odessa who are capable of organizing the coopertive movement so as to benefit society. Take the situation into your own hands, instill order yourselves and the Supreme Soviet will support you. I am confident of that....

On one of Kiev's streets M.S. Gorbachev had a conversation with inhabitants of the city.

When the conversation turned to giving more rights to the union republics, Mikhail Sergeyevich said: Right. But it is necesasary here to bear in mind that more rights also means more responsibility.

A question troubling people is the cooperatives. M.S. Gorbachev said:

Those which in the dead of night transfer goods from state stores and warehouses into motor vehicles which they then resell at triple the price are not real cooperatives. Therefore, in order to save the cooperative movement it is necessary to strike a blow at these self-seekers. That's what to do.

Voices: Right.

Someone asked M.S. Gorbachev: You have left the session. Aren't you worried that there it might...?

M.S. Gorbachev: The Supreme Soviet is changing before one's eyes. At the opening of the session the thought was aired: Let us make the Supreme Soviet really business-like. People expect the solutions to many problems and it is impermissible that we should now engage in games with procedural questions. The people will not tolerate that.

A voice: And how will the nationalities problems be solved?

M.S. Gorbachev: Our platform is clear. To rebuff everyone who wants to sow the seeds of discord in our common home.

A voice: What is your attitude to the "Rukh" movement?

M.S. Gorbachev: I believe that it is necessary to take a close look at all movements which have emerged in the course of perestroyka—I don't want to single out "Rukh." We will not accept those which are suggesting nasty alien ideas—separatism, and extremism—this must be nipped in the bud. So, I am in favor of healthy social movements that are actively assisting perestroyka.

A voice: Has the economic crisis set in, or is it yet to come?

M.S. Gorbachev: I think that we are already in a crisis situation and have begun to emerge from it. We have now a most difficult situation. It will persist for some time. Now, as the saying goes, everyone must get wise, get a grasp of everything, and each and everyone must not panic, but act constructively.

A voice: And show more responsibility.

M.S. Gorbachev: Certainly. I am convinced that we are on the right track and we will not turn aside from it.

Gorbachev Meets Miners in Kiev

LD2909194389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1731 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Kiev, 29 Sep (TASS)—"The social measures planned in the coal basins must become tangible for each working person, for each inhabitant of the region. The important thing now is not to lead the dialogue on to ultimatums, but to create the necessary groundwork for resolving social and consumer questions by highly productive labor. "The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev noted this in a conversation with miners, who participated in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, that took place in Kiev on Thursday [28 September].

Mikhail Gorbachev's interlocutors drew his attention to the fact that various "emissaries" are from time to time inciting workers to strike.

"Yes," said Mikhail Gorbachev, "a large number of people have appeared who would like to take advantage of the dissatisfaction of miners and railway workers and to act in the name of the working class for their own mercenary-minded aims. The concerns of workers and working people are essentially alien to them. They are concerned only with their own ambitions."

Mikhail Gorbachev talked to residents of Kiev in one of the city streets. When the conversation turned to the need to give the union republics more rights, Mikhail Gorbachev noted: "Quite right, but you have to bear in mind here that if you have more rights, you also have more responsibility."

Replying to a question of how nationality problems are going to be resolved, Mikhail Gorbacchev said: "Our platform is clear. We must resist all who want to bring the seeds of strife into our common home."

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed his view on the various movements that have come into being in the course of restructuring. One must take a close look at them, he said. "We shall not accept those that are tossing us alien ideas—now separatism, then extremism; this must be stopped. However, I am in favor of healthy public movements that actively help restructuring."

Replying to a question on what state the country's economy is in, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "I think that we are in a crisis situation and have begun to get out of it. There is a most difficult situation at present. It will persist for some time to come. Now, as the saying goes, everyone must grow wiser, everyone must understand, each and every person should not panic but act constructively. I am convinced that we are on the right course and will not turn off it."

Miners Reportedly Plan 'Symbolic' Strike for 2 Oct

AU3009201089 Paris AFP in English 1937 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, Sept 30 (AFP)—Soviet miners' representatives met here Saturday with parliamentarians and coal ministry officials to review government action over their demands made during last July's coal strike, television reported.

The meeting took place shortly after Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had issued a warning that further strikes could spell disaster as the government prepares to introduce tough austerity measures, including a wage freeze.

Mr. Gorbachev delivered the warning Thursday [28 Sep] to leaders of the Ukrainian coal mine workers in Kiev, the Communist Party daily PRAVDA reported.

A member of the strike committee at the Donetsk coal field told AFP Saturday that a symbolic three-hour strike was due to be held on Monday in Donetsk to speed up implementation of the accords, notably on retirement, holidays and an increase in the price of coal.

Speaking on television, Coal Minister Mikhail Shchadov said a number of measures had already been agreed on, among them the building next year of three million square metres of new housing for miners, an increase of 20 percent for evening shift work and 40 percent for night shift work.

Bills on pensions and holiday benefits would also shortly be put before parliament, while there would be cuts in management levels at the pits and at the coal ministry, Mr. Shchadov said.

The minister gave his backing to calls for greater financial autonomy for coal pits, but gave no specifics.

Hundreds of thousands of miners held a nearly three-week-long strike in several parts of the country last July over working conditions, salaries and living standards.

Coal Minister Discusses Strike Resolutions

LD3009224689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1840 GMT 30 Sep 89

["Topical Interview" program with USSR Coal Industry Minister M.I. Shchadov and unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Shchadov] During the strike, we lost over 10 million tonnes of coal, including about 2 billion tonnes of coking coal, of which the national economy is in great need. We lost about 1 million tonnes of high-grade fuel production. In carrying out preliminary workings, in fulfilling numerous construction and assembly projects in the Kuzbass alone we failed during that time to build several housing blocks. The total losses amounted to over R200 million, but it was the industry that lost; it was the state that lost; and the workers suffered losses, too. They lost about R30 million in social incentive funds alone, therefore. The losses are colossal, both for the state and the workers themselves. Of course, in the future such matters and such demands must be tackled quite differently, in such a way as not to cause losses for the state or the workers.

[Correspondent] Nearly three months have elapsed. What has been done in this time? As I understand it, the fact is that today's meeting with workers' committees deputies and representatives was generally aimed at clearly finding out exactly what had been done over these three months.

[Shchadov] I will not talk about all the demands; there are very many: The total number of demands put forward during the strikes exceeded 1,000. Today we are working on the main demands which were satisfied and jointly signed by the government commissions and strike committees and which found reflection in the government decision in the special decision no 608, of 3 August. Today the main issues which worried the miners, and continue to do so, have been resolved. First, capital investments and the amount of construction and assembly work have been increased to resolve the social sphere in 1990. If we have this year commissioned, if we are commissioning this year 2.6 million square meters, next year we will, according to plan, have 3 million square meters of housing, I think. Construction of preschool institutions, schools, hospitals, and polyclinics has been increased considerably more than this year, and more than was envisioned in the 5-year plan. That is the first thing.

Second, today issues have been resolved regarding payment of miners for night and evening shifts, with 20 percent of the wage rate for evening shifts, and 40 percent for night shifts, for all those working in mines, open-cast mines and concentration plants; that is, for all workers in the industry who work night shifts. In the case of underground workers, who work in more difficult conditions, the issue of payment [for transportation] from the shaft to the work place and back has been resolved. The expenditure from the wages fund on these two problems amounts to about R1 billion a year over the industry as a whole.

We are currently working on providing pensions for miners, and a draft law has been submitted to the government on this. The State Committee for Labor and Social Questions, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], the Ministry of Justice, and

other ministries and departments are working on this. The law will come up for consideration in the near future in the government, and will be submitted to the Supreme Soviet. It will be considered at the current, second, Supreme Soviet session.

In accordance with the government decision agreed on with the strike committees, we must tackle another very important matter, namely holidays for miners. The decision specifies that by 1 October we, the State Committee for Labor and Wages and the AUCCTU, must submit to the government a draft law to be further considered and worked on in the government and to be submitted to the Supreme Soviet. This issue has also been resolved.

Many other issues have also been resolved. In particular, always thinking about the miners, especially those who are already enjoying a well-earned rest, we decided on free distribution of coal in the cases of thousands of people, who have been calling for this matter to be resolved for 2 or 3 years now. Today this has been settled positively. We also put forward the proposal that those miners who retired before 1976 should have their pensions reviewed in accordance with the currently valid regulations, so as to increase their pensions from R120 R160 or R150. This matter has also been settled.

Another matter that has been resolved is that whereby labor collectives have been granted the right, in accordance with government decision No 372 of 4 May this year, to independently resolve the question of the length of additional leave; of rendering assistance to miners and pensioners; of women with small children they need to have looked after, so that the collective would have the right to pay both an 18 months pension, at the discretion of the labor collective council, and so that there would be no 18 month break in the work record. This matter was also resolved.

The matter of regional coefficients for especially difficult regions with hard climatic conditions—Yakuta, Inta, Karaganda, and Kuzbass—was resolved.

Now we are working on problems and matters which must be tackled concerning cutting the management apparatus in the ministry, in associations, and at mines. We came to firm agreement that the apparatus of the associations would be cut by 30 percent, and at mines, open-cast pits, and other enterprises by up to 25 percent. We will, I think, substantially reduce the numbers of the ministry apparatus, too.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Ivanovich....

[Shchadov] As concerns independence....

[Correspondent] I beg your pardon, I wanted to say something here. The fact is that having heard everything that the miners have got, I am convinced that many television viewers watching us now will say: "How advantageous and convenient it is to make use of a weapon such as the strike! Just look, people had only to go on strike, and one can immediately get real benefits amounting literally to millions of rubles." However, it seems to me that the strikers' main aim evidently was not only to obtain some sort of material privileges for themselves. Rather, I regard the miners' strikes as a very serious element which gave a mighty stimulus and acceleration to perestrokya itself, since people have started to take a greater interest in politics, people started to feel greater responsibility for their own region. In this regard, I am very interested in the results, for instance, of forming the statute of the Tumusaugol [Tumusa coal] state concern. That is, Mezhdurechensk miners, those same Mezhdurechensk miners who once upon a time started this strike throughout the country, 3 months later have now ,right here, the draft of their own concern, which offers them real independence. Thereby, a huge number of issues which previously had to be resolved through the ministry, through the AUCCTU and other organizations—or had to be requested, rather—can now be resolved by them independently. What can you say in this respect? To what degree will people now be able to more independently manage the region and the mine?

[Shchadov] Our management structure was adopted in 1974. It was calculated to suit, and adopted in, a different time from that in which we live today. What is needed today is greater democratization and greater glasnost—greater openness. We need to consult more with labor collectives and with workers so that they should make the decisions and make full use of the law on labor enterprise, association, labour collective, and association. Today, therefore, independence must be granted, first and foremost, to mines, open cast pits and other enterprises; but independence fully in accordance with the law on labor enterprises and associations, full juridical, economic and operational independence so that the collective should not think that someone else is going to tackle issues for it, but tackles the issues itself. I think we should establish various forms of management of the assocation or the concern; they could be different in each town or region.

[Correspondent] Please, tell me what exactly is being put into practice in the structure of the ministry itself, and in its functions?

[Shchadov] I think, and we are now doing this, we have abolished all operational conferences. We have made a sharp cut in the flow of mutual reports required and demands made on enterprises; bureaucratic exchanges of memos must be reduced. Now, having once again looked into things after the failure of the accrued wave of strikes throughout our towns and regions, we have substantially reduced all forms of providing accounts, statistical accounts, and not only in the basic activity of capital construction, but also in safety matters. Now already, we have handed over to mines and pits many matters which we previously never even thought of handing over for them to tackle. Mines and pits and other enterprises can now independently set labour norms, set wage rates, decide how many engineering and technical staff they need. The all-union norms which we have drawn up are merely recommended to them as advised. I think we are

eliminating the main administration and will move to sections; I think we must cut the number of staff who merely sit and demand "Extraction output today! Extraction output tomorrow!" Someone has to do this, though, but not to the extent to whch it is currently done. The ministry's efforts should be concentrated on resolving issues which cannot be tackled locally, and on granting more guarantees and opportunities for extracting more and living better at the grass roots.

Officials Discuss Miners' Situation

LD3009215189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] There was a meeting with People's Deputies and representatives of the country's workers' committees at the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry today. They discussed a matter worrying millions of people today: will the strike recur and how are the mutual accords being implemented?

[Andrey Konstantinov, identified on caption] Good evening. Before talking about today's meeting, I would like to recall the events of 2 and 3 months ago. Having started virtually spontaneously at a mine in Kemerovo Oblast, the strike encompassed virtually all the country's mining collectives for several weeks. [video shows miners at outdoor mass rally] There were many demands; they were all, so to speak, of different calibre, from increasing supplies of soap and washing powder to giving enterprises independence. However, the most important thing united them: both the strikers and certain party and trade union committees which sided with them were seeking the acceleration of perestroyka in the country and a breakthrough in the machinery being used to block many progressive decisions on the part of the bureaucratic party and administrative apparatus. [video: miners' march, another mass rally]

Naturally, it was quite simply impossible to deal with all of this tight knot of problems, which burst to the surface at once, and therefore in compiling protocols between the regional strike committees and the government commissions only the most vital were selected, only those which could in fact be put into practice and monitored. The choice was made carefully, cautiously. For example, in the Kuzbass they worked day and night to do this, without sleeping. [video: Slyunkov at meeting with miners' representatives] However, the document submitted to the seething square was genuinely considered and sober, although it evoked disappointment in any who asked: what were we fighting for? After this, having learned by bitter experience of promises made and not fulfilled, the workers agreed to go down the mines, but it was agreed that the strike was not considered over, but only suspended. This launched an effective, if dangerous, machinery for monitoring the joint document.

All this time, people from Lvov to the Kurile Islands have been waiting to see how the state figures would keep their word, whether the workers' collectives would feel the effects of the fruits of perestroyka for themselves or whether this would stay on the pages of the newspapers and on television screens. The time to sum up the results and make an assessment, to ponder and weigh things up, is now. Not only to assess the work of, say, the minister or anyone else, but to analyze what has been done at specific mines or open- cast pits, all the more so since the work of the industry is going very much more badly at the moment. Extraction has fallen sharply, and this is putting industry in a grave position, and likewise ourselves, as it is you and I who have to sit by hardly warm radiators.

An easy road to happiness has opened up for many people: you only have to declare a boycott and the benefits pour down as if from the horn of plenty. Alas, financial autonomy and independence, which incur real work, not slipshod work, are not to the liking of all. At today's meeting Comrade Shchadov, minister of the coal industry, reported back to the deputies and representatives of the workers' committees and told them about the specific measures taken to implement the accords. [video: Shchadov addressing meeting] You will find out about them in detail in the "Topical Interview" which comes on air immediately after the "Vremya" program. Yet, however complicated and interesting all the matters under discussion were, in my view the most important was this brief report: in Mezhdurechensk, the very same Mezhdurechensk where the strike began, they have today drawn up the draft charter for a state concern. (?Tumusaugol). [video shows interview with S.F. Shcherbakov, secretary of Mezhdurechensk town party committee, identified by caption]

[Shcherbakov] This should be a democratic enterprise which will deal with, I stress once again, first and foremost socioeconomic [corrects himself] the social issues in the town. I would even make this comparison: the 19th conference has today set the task of creating a law-governed state. Today we want, with all our hearts, to create in the town a truly law-governed enterprise which is run by those who produce.

[Konstantinov] That is the road towards real economic prosperity. That is a real result, turning the enterprise and the ministry into equal partners, not master and slave. I am confident that were we to have today several hundred concerns like this in operation, there would quite simply be no problems with coal, or schoolbooks, or even with soap.

Moldavia More Calm in Wake of Strikes

PM0110134989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Colonel N. Mulyar: "Moldavia: After the Strike"]

[Text] Tiraspol-Kishinev—Fall in Moldavia. The sun shines brightly and the fields are green, but the leaves on the trees are already acquiring a russet hue. The harvest

is nearly over. And it has been a good one this year. People should be celebrating, but sadness and anxiety are to be read in their faces. It is understandable. The recent ballyhoo over language issues in some places divided people into groups and led to a political strike. The national economy suffered losses running into tens of millions of rubles.

"Our enterprise did not participate in the strike," A. Nozdrachev, commercial deputy director at the "Metallolitografiya" Experimental Plant, said. "But the strike by the republic's railroad workers placed us in a difficult situation. Loaded freightcars had to be redirected to Uman, Odessa, and other Ukrainian cities. In Odessa alone, for example, more than 1,200 tonnes of sheet iron piled up. Between five and seven trucks were dispatched daily to the Black Sea coast. How much fuel and manpower did we waste? We are glad the strike has been suspended and the workers' voice has been heeded...."

Today, after a month of strikes, the squares in the republic's cities are no longer seething with people, nor are there any rallies at plants. Passions have abated. This was aided by the principled assessment of interethnic relations at the September Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

I visited a number of labor collectives in Tiraspol and I saw how keenly and meticulously people were discussing the platform adopted by the party on the nationalities question and condemning the discrimination and extremism on the part of those who are seeking to kindle ethnic strife and are not taking into account the situation that obtains in the republic. Here, for example, is what P. Soldatenko, labor and war veteran and CPSU member since 1941, wrote to SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA: "...Don't you think it is insulting, for example, to me, a war veteran, who fought his way across half the country and ended the war at the walls of Prague, to hear people hollering: 'Occupiers!' and 'Migrants!'? Don't you think it is painful for me to see the pleading in my wife's eyes and hear her ask me not to wear my suit with my combat and labor awards on the holiday?"

A. Ladan, party committee secretary at Tiraspol's Kirov Plant, told me about the consolidation of forces, the mutual understanding:

"People are tired of striking. They are all aware that it was an extreme measure that they were forced to take. But they did it specifically in order to protect their rights and rebuff the extremist and nationalist currents that have appeared recently in the republic. So I sighed with relief when I heard at the CPSU Central Committee plenum that in the conditions of the Soviet federation Russian must be the general state language. The plant collective has halted its strike and work is gathering pace again. In fact, losses as a result of the strike amount to around R14 million. The enterprise working people are trying to make up the lost ground. They have voluntarily decided to extend the working day by 2 hours and to organize a third shift."

People in Rybnitsa, Bendery, and Tiraspol have gone back to work. The situation has quieted down in Kishinev too. After Yerevan, Baku, and Tbilisi, where I saw tanks and volatile crowds of citizens in the squares, the Moldavian capital looks calm and peaceful today.

"Rallies in the city are only held Sundays now," Major Yu. Ishchik, the military commandant, said. "But the social and political situation is not simple. Here is SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA carrying a Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau resolution. Take a look."

Negative manifestations on the part of a number of informal movements, which have increased in frequency of late, are having an influence in terms of destabilizing the situation, it says. While declaring their advocacy of perestroyka, some members of the Moldavian People's Front are putting forward unacceptable ultimatums on various issues relating to the history and present-day development of the republic and are making abusive remarks about the non-Moldavian populace....

Some leaders of the "Unity" movement say they back the CPSU's course of improving interethnic relations, while in fact—the resolution says—the movement is showing no desire to seek reasonable compromises and recognize the actual situation....

"Indeed, the situation in the republic is complex. But preparations for the fall draft are proceeding according to plan," Major General V. Nazarov, military commissar of Moldavia, said. "One thing worries us: An increasing number of draftees who have a poor knowledge of Russian are unable to learn a combat specialty. At the same time, Moldavian Deputy Minister of People's Education Yeshanu has signed a document prescribing a reduction in the study of Russian at rural vocational and technical schools from 280 to 202 hours.

"We are also worried," Viktor Ivanovich said, "by the fact that some rayon and city soviet executive committees are trying not to allocate transport and people to facilitate the draft. But we are nonetheless encountering mutual understanding...."

...Moldavia. A land celebrated in song, a region of hospitable, fine people. Now, as if after a storm, a calm is descending on the land. The republic's leadership is taking every step to stabilize the situation and cause passions to abate and to ensure that the ship, overburdened with troubles, finally makes the shore.

Moldavian Language Program Published

LD3009200789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1411 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Kishinev, 30 September, (TASS)—A special program drawn up by the government of the republic, which was published today, will serve to create conditions for the development of the languages used in Soviet Moldavia.

The program provides for free tuition—on a volunatry basis—in the state language, which the republican Supreme Soviet has acknowledged to be Moldavian. Training of specialists who will bear the responsibility for carrying out secretarial work in the state language is also envisaged.

In connection with the Moldavian language resuming the Latin alphabet, the program envisages renewing the material basis of the typographical industry, publication of literature and documentation, and replacement of signs and road signs.

The program outlines a package of measures to provide materially for the development of other languages functioning in Moldavia—Russian, Ukrainian, Gagauz, Bulgarian and Hebrew. Russian will be developed as the language of interethnic communication in Moldavia.

The financial resources for putting the program into effect will be found when the republican budget is drawn up.

The government program has been adopted to implement the laws on languages adopted recently by the Moldavian Supreme Soviet. Reaction to these laws in the republic has been mixed: a substantial proportion of the Russian-speaking population (which constitutes the majority in some towns and rayons) believe that they have been placed in unequal conditions in relation to the indigenous population. This has been the cause of numerous strikes in the republic, although the strikes have now stopped many believe that the language problem still stands. The complexity of the language problem is also being discussed at the Moldaivan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum being held in Kishinev.

Moldavian Plenum Advocates Party Unity

LD3009203189 Moscow TASS in English 2013 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Kishinev September 30 TASS—The social and political situation and the state of inter-ethnic relations in Soviet Moldavia call for efforts to normalize the life in the republic. This is the general conclusion at which participants of the plenary meeting of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee arrived after their debates today.

In his report to the plenum, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party Semyon Grossu noted the present tensions in the economy, below-plan implementation of social programmes, an aggravation of inter-ethnic relations.

Grossu admitted that the level of party influence on current processes is inconsistent with the requirements of the moment. He criticised the republican central party bodies and a number of city, district and primary party organisations.

Grossu stressed that to ensure the unity of the republican Communist Party is a task of paramount importance. The plenum advocated the unity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It was stressed at the plenum that the activity of many independent public organisations resulted in the ethnic-based stratification of the population.

Participants noted that no problems whatever could be resolved without due account of legitimate interests and rights of all ethnic groups. In this connection, it was decided to address to the Supreme Soviet of Moldavia the proposal to work out and submit for a republic-wide discussion a draft law on guarantees of the rights of ethnic communities residing in the republic.

The proposal sees it as justified to establish an autonomous formation for the Gagauz population on the territory of their compact residence in Moldavia's south.

Much attention was given at the plenum to the development of science, culture, arts, languages and traditions of the ethnic communities residing in Moldavia.

The plenum supported the proposal to lay down in legislation status of the Russian language as the common state language used on the territory of the Soviet Union and functioning on an equality basis with republican state languages.

The plenum denounced slogans and calls of anti-Russian, anti-socialist, separatist and anti-Moldavian nature, as well as biased assessments of the Moldavian people's historical past calling in question the existence of the Moldavian nation and its own language.

The August-September mass strikes which involved more than 100,000 people and did serious economic and political damage to the republic, were denounced at the plenum as a destabilising factor and an inadmissible method of accomplishing tasks.

Participants in the plenum stressed the need for the communists to thoroughly prepare for the forthcoming elections to the republican and local bodies of authority, learn to wage political struggle and come up with new initiatives.

The plenum decided to convene the 17th congress of the Moldavian Communist Party in September 1990.

Draft Laws on Elections Discussed in Moldavia

LD1909222389 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Kishinev September 19 TASS—Draft laws on elections to the republican and local soviets were submitted to a nationwide discussion in Soviet Moldavia today.

The documents state that elections will be held in one-seat constituencies on the basis of a universal, equal and direct voting right by secret ballot.

Any direct or indirect restrictions of voting rights based on origin, social or property status, race, nationality, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, length of residence in an area or occupation are forbidden.

The draft laws suggest that one fourth of Moldavian people's deputies should be elected from public organisations.

Work and student collectives, voters' meetings at a place of residence and public organisations are given the right to nominate candidates for USSR people's deputies. The law does not provide for district election meetings.

The procedure of filling the ballot list by voters has also been changed. A voter will have the right to leave as many candidates as he likes and cross out those whom he does not want to be elected. All votes "for" and "against" a candidate will be registered in ballot-count. A candidate who receives the votes of more than half of the voters taking part in an election is considered to be elected.

The draft laws also contain other rules that reflect the practice of the previous elections for USSR people's deputies and take into account the proposals of scientists, experts and ordinary citizens.

Central Committee Secretary Girenko Interviewed

PM2909140389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by M. Odinets: "Elected Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee"—no place or date of interview given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] A.N. Girenko, first secretary of Crimean Ukrainian Communist Party Oblast Committee [obkom], was elected secretary of the Central Committee at the CPSU Central Committee September plenum. A PRAVDA correspondent interviewed him at readers' request.

A.N. Girenko was born in a worker's family in Krivoy Rog in 1936. Like many others, he lost his father at the front during the Great Patriotic War.

[Girenko] My mother educated and raised two sons on her own during the hard postwar years. I graduated from the Krivoy Rog Mining Institute, where my wife was also a student. We have a daughter who now has her own family, and we have a granddaughter. I started my working life as a worker, then an underground electrician, and then I became machine operator at a mine in the Krivoy Rog coalfield. My life thereafter was associated with Communist Youth League [Komsomol] and party work. It all started, I recall, with a sharply critical speech at the institute, during a faculty Komsomol report and election meeting. Criticism was an ordinary phenomenon in the late fifties, but later on we regrettably lost these traditions. Only now, in conditions of perestroyka, are we recreating an atmosphere favoring the open discussion of all questions.

I worked as first secretary of Krivoy Rog Ukrainian Komsomol City Committee and first secretary of Dnepropetrovsk Ukrainian Komsomol Obkom, and from 1970 I worked in the republican Komsomol Central Committee as second secretary and later as first secretary. It was the Komsomol that assigned me to party work.

[Odinets] What experience do you bring to the CPSU Central Committee?

[Girenko] While I was second secretary of Kherson party obkom, I dealt with questions of the development of industry and the construction industry. This gave me a sound schooling, and it continued when Communists entrusted me with heading the Kherson Oblast party organization. I am grateful to the Kherson region's working people, who, working in the extreme conditions of the Southern Ukraine, managed to display real character. I also learned a lot from the Crimean party organization.

[Odinets] Tell us, what has been done in the Crimean Oblast that you could take credit for, as it were?

[Girenko] I have always been inclined to think more of what has not been done, what still remains to be done. It could, of course, be said that during these years the oblast's socioeconomic indicators—grain, meat, and milk production, grain crop yields, and stockraising productivity—exceeded plan targets. Of course, credit for all this is due to the workers, peasants, and specialists; it is all the result of work by the entire oblast party organization. The party obkom, naturally relying on the opinion of the broad public, managed to identify distortions allowed to occur earlier in the development of the oblast's economic complex and concentrated its efforts on their elimination. For example, the area sown to fruit-bearing vines this year is larger than in 1985. Serious steps have been taken to improve the ecological situation and to boost housebuilding capacities. Nonetheless, the problems of housing, food supplies, and health care still remain very complex. The obkom and all party committees constantly work on the nationalities question. After all, the Crimean Tatar problem is one of the most long-standing, painful, and contradictory problems.

But the main point is perhaps the fact that all the energies of the Crimean party organization were channeled toward the using of political methods to establish constructive, creative activity in line with perestroyka's demands. I'll make no secret of this—the bulk of the work still lies ahead.

[Odinets] What will be your job in the CPSU Central Committee?

[Girenko] In my new position I shall be dealing with the improvement and perestroyka of party work. The specific sector may, of course, be named once I start my new job. I am primarily worried about being able to cope with my new duties and this, in my view, can be achieved

provided I do not lose my connection with the oblast's Communists. I bank on reciprocity here.

[Odinets] What would you like to wish the Crimean people before leaving for Moscow?

[Girenko] Fruitful work and a happy and prosperous life.

[Odinets] And what about the Crimea, pearl among our resorts and all-union sanatorium, what future would you wish for it?

[Girenko] This is really a unique corner of our motherland, and it is in the whole country's interests not just to preserve it. Speaking of the Crimean sanatorium as a precious asset, it is necessary to improve its appearance and ensure that it becomes even more attractive, that it gives Soviet people joy and health.

[Odinets] Now that you are a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, will you still strive to solve the Crimea's problems?

[Girenko] Certainly. Not only because I am a USSR people's deputy from the Crimea and hope to be able to justify the voters' trust. These problems do not affect just the Crimean peninsula, they must be solved in the interests of the whole country.

[Odinets] We have met on numerous occasions in the past, and you have always been helpful to journalists. Congratulations on your election, and we hope that you will continue to support newsmen.

[Girenko] Thank you! Certainly!

U.S. Footage of Yeltsin Visit Broadcast

LD0110201989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1630 GMT on 1 October carries a 70-minute collage of U.S. newsreel coverage of Boris Yeltsin's visit to the United States. The U.S. presenters' commentary is overlaid with a Russian translation, and Yeltsin's own voice is for the most part clearly audible. The Macneil/Lehrer News Hour features a brief video biography of Yeltsin, followed by an interview in the New York studio in which Yeltsin is asked about his ambitions to assume Gorbachev's position, his relations with Gorbachev, and his view of the crisis in Soviet society, among other things. An NBC newsreel shows Yeltsin visiting various sights in New York and addressing various audiences. "Good Morning America" says Yeltsin gives Gorbachev 6 months to 1 year in power. Timothy McNulty of the CHICAGO TRIBUNE comments on Yeltsin's tactics. This leads into a discussion of Yeltsin as a politician, based on Yeltsin's speech: "The Future of Soviet Democracy" at Johns Hopkins University. This is apparently carried in full, including Yeltsin answering questions. After Yeltsin is shown leaving the rostrum at Johns Hopkins, to thunderous applause, Timothy McNulty comments that Yeltsin is the focus of media interest because he does not accord with the stereotyped image of the Soviet man, and in particular the Soviet politician. Yeltsin is, McNulty comments, a "stage artist" who has "entranced" the U.S. public.

Yeltsin Interviewed on Nation's Tasks

LD3009231489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2000 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Interview with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The first question: What can you do? What can your commission and all the deputies do for us, for the country?

[Yeltsin] Of course, expectations were very high, and they remain so, inasmuch as the first session did not yield results. On the organizational level things were not organized to provide for effective work. As a result, as much as half of the agenda was not realized. During that session, time was not at all determined for the committees and commissions and we were moved around—wait until morning, until evening, until Saturday, until Sunday, until I do not know when. Well, one should probably put that down to the first experience of this kind of work, of parliament on a permanent basis. There is already better order now.

The second agenda drawn up by the Supreme Soviet Presidium includes one of the most important issues for the country: The plan and budget for 1990; and, perhaps the most important thing, a whole package of draft laws which should, all in all, get perestroyka moving. We have to start perestroyka with these laws. These are the law on property, the law on land, and the use of land, the law on cooperatives—there are important amendments to that—and a number of others. We expect that given, of course, very serious discussion of these laws and their adoption we should somehow get the wheel of perestroyka, which has gotten bogged down at the moment, moving forward somewhat.

[Correspondent] But what can the laws do realistically in the immediate future, because we have actually had 4 years of perestroyka and life is getting harder and harder?

[Yeltsin] Firstly, somehow we have to correctly formulate the plan and budget for 1990. So far, even today the very stormy discussion in the committee shows that by no means has it been drafted for the benefit of the social sphere. In addition, we have a material resources imbalance, something which is ultra-dangerous. We must prevent this.

[Correspondent] I know you and your committee have already proposed at the congress that our industrial construction be considerably cut down to build more social amenities. Has this been taken into account in the plan?

[Yeltsin] Yes, this has been taken into account, in a way. However, It has been reworded in a clause about the

source [for the construction of social amenities] to be found in enterprises' profits; that is, in such a way that it is very difficult to discern it, you see. Therefore, it is necessary to find a very clear position here as to what extent the social sphere is to grow and to what extent industrial construction is to be reduced, to make all the remaining capital investment balance fully with material resources. This is the first thing. Secondly, one must not generally reduce to naught the significance of the percentage of reduction in industrial construction absolutely in all ministries and regions. Nevertheless, I think we have time to sort this out with sufficient thoroughness, considering that the committee membership is highly qualified.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, well, it is an evening conversation and therefore, I would like to talk with you, if that's possible, about your feelings, a little. Well, there is such a phenomenon as Yeltsin, the people's attitude toward you. Well, there is one thing that I cannot understand. You lived splendidly. You had splendid posts. Nevertheless, you went against that. You did live...you ended up where many are striving to live.

[Yeltsin] To communism.

[Correspondent, laughing] You are expressing that more precisely.

[Yeltsin] I ended up in the conditions, so to speak, in which people will live under communism. It was namely that which exasperated me. At last I understood that eternal precipice which separates the leadership from the people, from its standard of living, from those 8 million people who live below the poverty level in terms of their income. That is terribly...poor.

[Correspondent] What about those who do not live below the level?

[Yeltsin] Only R70 and R100, that is not a wage either, or R200 or R300. All that stratification struck me so much that I felt alien, as it were, I even felt that. That is the first thing, and the second is nonetheless the fundamental disagreement with certain members of the Politburo on questions of social justice, on questions of the approach to the development of our country, either in the economy, or in the social sphere, on questions of the tactics of perestroyka. Incidentally, I agree with Gorbachev here on the strategy, on the final aims; everything is right. There were mistakes in the tactics. Well, now, putting them right will again demand 4 or 5 years. I am not sure that the people will have patience for these 4 or 5 years.

[Correspondent] Where do you get your strength and courage from?

[Yeltsin] Mainly, of course, it is the support of people because, in every question, even given the latest pieces of filth....

[Correspondent, interrupting] Which were reprinted?

[Yeltsin] PRAVDA reprinted from the LA REPUBBLICA the thousands and thousands of telegrams which came to me and well, that support directly says that we are prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder and are prepared to support you in absolutely everything. Well, you know, such words, just are taken in such way that even given all the difficult circumstances which fall to my lot now, I nonetheless want to live. The most important thing is that one has to live for the sake of these people and not for oneself.

[Correspondent] Well, I would like to say that what was in PRAVDA is not just unpleasant, but it was foolish as well. Knowing your character, so to speak, I remember when you were just appointed, you had just come to Moscow. We phoned our Sverdlovsk colleagues to find out about Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, to find out what he was like because we also, to a certain extent, are dependent on our leadership. We were told about such an event, that you at some party conference, an oblast or city one, I do not know, but in general, when somebody started to speak and say that personal transport should not be used for private purposes you said "well, well say that once again; let my wife hear that." Is that a legend or did it actually happen?

[Yeltsin] Well, I said, "Well, well, let all wives hear that, including mine".

[Correspondent] So, that means it did happen?

[Yeltsin] It did happen.

[Correspondent] Knowing the person and his attitude toward all that, it was just simply laughable and unpleasant to read that yellow rag. Another question. I saw that recently they showed KVN [expansion unkown] and you were sitting in the hall. Were you supporting the Sverdlovsk team or everybody?

[Yeltsin] Well you see, they invited me, the Urals Polytechnical Institute from which I graduated, and with which I now have constant contacts, too. Nevertheless, every year, every 5 years, we spend our holiday with our graduating class. I have not missed that once since 1955. Therefore, I could not go and turn my nose up at their invitation.

[Correspondent] But they did not let you down?

[Yeltsin] They did not let me down. They were in a very good mood and then I went to them and congratulated them on their victory and I was very glad for them.

[Correspondent] In general, what is your attitude toward young people?

[Yeltsin] My attitude toward young people is such that now they have to be taught, at least, to run the country; that is the most important thing. I looked in the United States, too. It is my absolutely firm opinion that we need to send 2-3,000 young managers there for a year or two and let them work there, let them earn a businesslike character from the Americans, namely a businesslike

character, the ability to run the economy. They know how to work and know how to live and know how to enjoy life, which is of course very important for a person.

[Correspondent] Well, after your trip to the United States, I read your interview, it really wrung my heart....

[Yeltsin interrupting] It is shameful that our people have been held back. Our people are talented but under the conditions in which they live and in which our people's lives are simply incomparable.

[Correspondent] Do you have hopes for what the new Supreme Soviet that we have is, what kind of new deputies we have? Do you have hopes that you will be able to overcome, to master the course of our history, the development of our economy?

[Yeltsin] One must believe in that. Of course, that will not happen immediately, but one must believe in it. There are many people who could not simply earn by their position alone, which is very important. The interregional deputy groups will step up their activities....

[Correspondent, interrupting] I was at a sitting of your group. After all, the most important thing here is the elaboration of optimal decisions.

[Yeltsin] That is completely right. It is not a question of some kind of official opposition, and so forth, no. It is a question of the need for working out more radical decisions and not of placing oneself in the role of opposition to the Supreme Soviet, not in any event.

[Correspondent] The most terrible thing is half-hearted decisions.

[Yeltsin] That is what I am saying. We are finding ourselves between two stools. There is a need to define oneself more clearly, to carry out that line more radically.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, thank you. Success to you, good fortune, and good health!

[Yeltsin] Thank you.

Vorotnikov Chairs RSFSR Presidium Meeting

LD2909200289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Sep 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 29 September there was a sitting of the presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. It examined the question of the preliminary results of the popular discussion of the Russian Federation's drafts laws "On Changes and Additions to the RSFSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)" and "On the Election of RSFSR People's Deputies and Local Soviet Deputies."

The sitting was conducted by Comrade Vorotnikov.

Medvedev Returns From Berlin Ideology Conference

LD2309154589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1130 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 23 Sep (TASS)—Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who had been attending a meeting of secretaries of the Central Committees of fraternal parties of the socialist countries on ideological matters, returned today from Berlin to Moscow.

Medvedev Addresses Propaganda Conference

LD2909225389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] In the CPSU Central Committee a seminar conference of the participants in propaganda groups being sent to local party organizations to explain and publicize the decisions of the September plenum of the CPSU Central Committee took place today. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

People's Deputy Claims Medvedev Insults Uzbeks

LD3009114989 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] In the latest issue of the weekly SOBESEDNIK an interview with Roy Medvedev, USSR people's deputy and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which was first published in August in the Italian newspaper UNITA, is published. In this interview Roy Medvedev insults the Uzbek people.

How was the approach of our deputies to this insult? Our correspondent in Moscow, (Rakhim Kazanov), talked to Akhmaddzhan Mukhtarov, USSR people's deputy.

[Begin Mukhtarov recording] Dear compatriots, as you know, articles have frequently appeared in the central press recently which are taken from life in Uzbekistan which do not conform with the life, customs and traditions and honor and fame of the republic. At the CPSU Central Committee September plenum, there were harsh words exchanged about the article published in the journal OGONYEK entitled "New Task." I took the weekly SOBESEDNIK last night and read the article by Roy Medvedev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission for the Gdlyan and Ivanov case, entitled "Radicals May Show Themselves From This." In fact, it consists of detailed answers to the questions by the correspondent of the newspaper UNITA published in August in Italy [words indistinct]. I read this and was extremely infuriated. This acticle is harmful because it consists of details of a talk which is against perestroyka taking place in our country. While discussing the activity of the commission investigating the Gdlyan and Ivanov case, Roy Medvedev puts forward a worthless philosophy saying that this process and the investigation will not finish even in 2 years. Furthermore, there are remarks in this

interview which go against the pride and fame of our republic and insult the dignity of the Uzbek people. For example, according to a claim by Roy Medvedev, bribery allegedly is in the blood of the people of Central Asia, including the Uzbek people. This is allegedly a tradition in Central Asia.

On behalf of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from Uzbekistan and on behalf of all USSR Supreme Soviet members I absolutely reject this slander and insult. Furthermore, Roy Medvedev, having undertaken an extremely important responsibility, says that he believes that activities of our present bodies, including the law enforcement bodies, do not respond to the process of restructuring. He supports an investigation into all the activities of these bodies. No one has given this right to Roy Medvedev. He should be involved in his own work—in proving that Gdlyan and Ivanov violated the law in UZbekistan, for the USSR Supreme Soviet.

We, a group of deputies went to TASS and gave our statement. We will convey the text of this statement to the USSR Supreme Soviet session on Monday.

To put it briefly, we cannot tolerate such an insult—this slander. Our people have a proverb: Prudence is cowardice by another name. We must now put this prudence aside and take all the measures we can to preserve the good name of our republic. I appeal to you dear compatriots and say that we, your deputies in the USSR Supreme Soviet, will strike a powerful blow against the insult against the dignity of our republic and act to preserve the honor of our republic and prevent its name from being tainted. [end recording]

Lukyanov Addresses Conference on Crime

LD2909224889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today the latest session of the Provisional Committee for the Struggle against Crime took place in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of Comrade Lukyanov.

[Begin Lukyanov recording] The situation in the country and the state of affairs concerning crime evoke very great concern in us. And it is necessary to say that regrettably we still have no hints that the acuteness of this situation is diminishing. Facts connected with the aggravation of organized crime and with manifestations of it evoke particular concern. There are very many complaints about malicious speculation, simply speculation around the shops, speculation next to the gates of works, and so on. Finally, an acute situation has formed in a number of cities involving hooligan elements, outrageous attacks on people and on housing, burglaries, thefts, and so on. Therefore, the situation unfortunately does not dispose us in such a way that we could slacken attention to the struggle against crime.

The worker members of the party's Central Committee spoke about all this very acutely, as you know, at the meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the party Central Committee on 21 September—very acutely. A whole series of matters, including some which directly affect the activity of our committee, were raised. [end recording]

A report by Comrade Bakatin, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, about the state of affairs concerning crime in the country was heard at the session. The necessity of sharply invigorating activity, particularly that of the law and order bodies themselves, in the struggle against crime, was noted. It was emphasized that it is necessary to accelerate the elaboration of legislation with a view to strengthening the level of legal protection of law and order personnel. Proposals of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the Procuracy about the use by staff of the militia and of the internal troops of exceptional measures in the critical conditions of struggle against criminal elements were examined. The committee approved the initiative of the collectives of enterprises in allocating resources for the upkeep of extra staff units in the militia bodies.

The participants in the session noted that an increase in the efficiency of the struggle with speculation would be promoted by the issuing of new legislative acts of the union republics about responsibility for offenses in trade, for illicit sales at prices in excess of retail prices, and for petty speculation. An approximate provision about provisional committees for the struggle against crime was passed at the session.

Continued Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Blockade

Rail Situation 'Worsening'

LD2909200889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Round up of news on railway freight situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan, including interview with Albert Vartonovich Arovyan, first deputy chief of the Yerevan division of the Transcaucasian Railway, by correspondent Karen Khumaryan in Yerevan on 28 September—recorded]

[Text] [Khumaryan] After a telephone conversation with the editor late last night I visited Albert Vartanovich Arovyan, First Deputy Chief of the Yerevan Division of the Transcaucasian Railway, and I want to play you a small fragment of our conversation:

[Begin recording] [Arovyan] It is being made to look as though the bloackade of Armenia has ceased, as though the trains have started to run. However, if one takes a detailed look at this matter, one can draw only one conclusion: The blockade has assumed a different form, it has not ceased, and this very same negative work is being conducted in a more subtle way on the part of our colleagues and neighbors in the Azerbaijan SSR, as they are called.

What is the picture after the warnings and after the Supreme Soviet address? They gave us 16 trains on 26 September, making a total of 700 cars on 16 trains. With these same trains, that is to say with these same electric locomotives, we returned some 900 cars to them. After checking and finding out more details the following picture emerged: The trains are arriving with all their cars at the Dzhulf station [in Azerbaijan] and at the Norashen station [in Azerbaijan]. There the cars with food, oil, lubricants, and fuel are uncoupled and dispatched to Armenia. We are mainly issued construction materials.

[Khumaryan] If I have correctly understood you: previously the Azerbaijan Railway blocked our freight at its stations, now it is not delivering the necessary fuel and lubricants and is blocking shipments at our stations because without fuel it is still impossible to take goods out.

[Arovyan] Yes, the cars have arrived but we are unable to unload them. [end recording]

[Announcer] Besides this report we have information on the situation at the junction of the Armenian and Azerbaijan main lines from the Ministry of Railways, where this issue was also discussed today. Anatoliy Goldin, a correspondent not on our permanent staff, reports:

[Goldin] Yes, indeed, today it is again necessary to say that a kind of war of the rails is continuing on the border of the two Transcaucasian republics. And the Ministry of Railways confirmed to me that it is not known where the tanks with fuel and food cars go along the Azerbaijan-Armenia routes.

Thus, during the past days only 16 cars with food and not one tank have gotten through. And today, for instance, in Leninakan there are already 750 cars and open goods trucks standing waiting for unloading with cargoes for the town's construction sites. But there is nothing to unload them with. The cranes are idle—there is no fuel. It has accumulated at the Norashen station where the local railway workers throw out fuel tanks from the routes prepared for the Armenians.

A clear striving by certain groups to solve their political problems by means of economic pressure and blackmail is evident. We will not into the essence of the demands themselves now or their fairness, but the consequences of such steps are obvious—moreover for the whole country. Insurmountable barriers are arising in the way of transport flows. And it was noted several hours ago at a traffic conference on goods for Armenia—and the Ministry of Railways monitors the situation constantly—that already 230 trains have been abandoned on the tracks. They contain food and goods for the Armenian republic. Because of them the whole Northern Caucasus region is on the edge of paralysis.

'No Sign' of Relaxation Seen

LD2909225789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast remains very complicated. Here is some material received from radio correspondent Sergey Omelchenko, who is there:

[Begin recording] [Omelchenko] Here in Nagorno-Karabakh there is as yet no sign of even a relaxation, never mind a lifting of the blockade—which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev called for during the 1st day of the USSR Supreme Soviet session. Things have got to the point where a catastrophic situation has come about in regard to food, fuel, and medicines. All vital cargoes are now transported only by planes and helicopters. Just now a huge transport helicopter landed at Stepanakert airport and unloading began immediately. Kamaz trucks are being loaded with flour. I am now talking to representatives of the oblast consumer's union.

[Trade specialist Marina Lazarchuk] For almost 10 whole days we have been receiving cargo from Kirovabad military airport, but now Tbilisi airport is supplying us. The situation in the oblast is very critical; there is no possibility of moving products and supplying the population. The railway is still not working here. We are practically cut off from everything. Not only can we not supply the oblast, we cannot even unload the cargo we receive. This is because the cargoes arrive very late, 2300 or midnight. We turn for help to a military unit. The oblast is really blockaded. And no matter that it is said by the Central Committee or from high platforms that the oblast is open, that the railways are all open, and that supplies here are excellent, top rate—it is not like that at all.

[Omelchenko] So what cargoes do you transport, what products do you supply to the oblast?

[Lazarchuk] We provide the oblast with virtually everything, butter, confectionary, flour, and tobacco products, but at the present moment we have been receiving only flour for a whole week. There is absolutely no confectionary here in the oblast or in depots. This is already the 2d month that we have not received butter, so here in the oblast, simply put, a critical situation has arisen.

[Omelchenko] So [word indistinct] in general, are actually on starvation rations, right?

[Lazarchuk] Not literally starvation rations. I do not know...people are, simply, really experiencing a blockade. At this time, under Soviet power to experience such a blockade—it's simply a disgrace, a disgrace for Soviet power. Such a thing cannot be, and should never be repeated.

[Omelchenko] How would you appraise the events which are now taking place in Nagorno-Karabakh and the republics which are linked with it?

[Lazarchuk] Well, the blockade must be lifted as soon as possible. Let the Central Committee go to some trouble; let them think about the fact that people live here. In what century are we living? It's no good just talking from high podiums, it's necessary to act.

[Omelchenko] All honest, decent people, both Azerbaijanis and Armenians, must understand that the blockade and the opposition of the two peoples only play into the hands of the enemies of both Azerbaijan and Armenia. Cardinal, precise, just solutions to the worsening problems are needed. [end recording]

Official Describes Food Distribution

LD0110201289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Unfortunately, the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains tense. In the words of a member of the Committee for Special Administration Valeriy Sidorsov—an interview with him is printed today in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY—the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is evaluated as one preceding a great tragedy, unless the most decisive and strict measures are taken. As they say, things always give at the weak point and, naturally, in such circumstances life is exacerbated by breakdowns in the supply of food products to people. Freight is not arriving by railway. The roads are not functioning. The leaders of adjacent Azerbaijan rayons have expressed the intention to begin talks on bringing the blockade to an end. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko has been given an interview with acting chairman of the oblast consumers' society of Nagorno-Karabakh (Anatoliy Aramovich Nuridzhanyan).

[Begin recording] [Omelchenko] Anatoly Aramovich, what food products are you distributing here in Nagorno-Karabakh?

[(Nuridzhanyan)] [words indistinct] we supply the rural population with all food products and with consumer goods. Then we purchase from the rural population livestock and agricultural products and, in as far as we can, we assist in supplying the city, since there is an opportunity to do this now. But at the present stage, when there is a total blockade of the oblast in road transport and rail transport, our only road is aviation. Planes are helping us a great deal and it is via this (?precise) aviation that we are supplying the rural population with those provisions which are vital. In other words, above all, flour.

[Omelchenko] To whom is this flour now going?

[(Nuridzhanyan)] This flour is now going to Gadrutskiy Rayon. That's our most remote rayon. Trucks from Mardakertskiy Rayon are also here at the moment.

[Omelchenko] They are also waiting for their flour, are they?

[(Nuridzhanyan)] Yes, they are also waiting for their flour. At the present time, bread is the most urgent problem in Nagorno-Karabakh. We are trying to get it to the rayons and we manage to deliver the minimum stock to last about a day to a day and a half, at most, and then, in about a day and half we again have to deliver some. If we do not bring any, people simply have nothing to eat. We now have a situation where the Committee for Special Administration, our local soviet bodies in all rayons and party bodies have informed all residents of villages and everywhere else that all old windmills should be put into action and be repaired. [words indistinct] grain in these mills. It is being threshed and the flour is being taken to the bakeries to manage to provide the populations of the rayons with bread in time.

[Omelchenko] Besides bread, what else are you delivering to the population?

[(Nuridzhanyan)] We have delivered a total of (?10) tonnes of granulated sugar, and that is for a population of 130,000. That is a drop in the bucket. We have delivered 4 tonnes of household soap. We have delivered a small amount of cereal grains, millet, a little buckwheat. At the same time, special military contingents are providing the population. We sent a telegram to the CPSU Central Committee plenum on behalf of the oblast consumers' soviet and it was explained in the telegram that because of the blockade, final stocks of food have been exhausted, and we urgently requested the roads to be opened. We have a great many railcars carrying food products en route but we do not have any idea where they are, what state they are in. In this respect we are being assisted by Armenia and Georgia and the central all-union trade bodies. But so far, these goods are not getting through to us. [end recording]

Fuel Shortage Hinders Unloading of Supplies

LD3009192289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 30 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] This is a line at a fuel station in Yerevan. As before, there is no gasoline. You can be here like this for days and not fill up; it is not in vain that some of our vehicles are now travelling on acetone, or even white spirit. Indeed, today we were unable to go into the earthquake zone for the very same reason. [video shows various vehicles in line for fuel]

This week we have met three times with Ambartsum Kandilyan, head of the Yerevan sector of the Transcaucasus Railway. We have had to meet with him because the situation with the blockade is not, unfortunately, changing for the better. It is just that the tactics of those mounting the blockade have changed. [video shows interview with A. Kandilyan]

[Begin Kandilyan recording] Opening the USSR Supreme Soviet session, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, in referring back to the Azerbaijani blockade of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, said we would allow another 2 or 3

days for this matter to be entirely resolved, meaning the lifting of the blockade. Indeed, after that we started to get, in dribs and drabs, a few trains a day.

In reality, the blockade has not been halted, it is just that the form of the blockade has been changed. By this I mean that all the trains that pass along the Azerbaijan Railway destined for Armenia have their loads of oil products and foodstuffs uncoupled and are then dispatched to us. At the moment 700-750 trucks have accumulated in the earthquake zone, particularly at the Leninakan junction, awaiting unloading. It is abominable that the unloading is not proceeding simply because of the lack of gasoline and diesel—there is insufficient fuel to support the carriage of these goods by motor transport, and the machinery for unloading cannot be used. [passage omitted] [end recording]

'Resolute Measures' Expected From Gorbachev

NC3009104389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] We are waiting impatiently for news—from trains entering the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and from transportation on the roads linking Armenia to NKAO—that the blockade has been lifted. As you know, trucks carrying vital goods for NKAO have been waiting at the Goris-Lachin border.

To find out if anything has changed since Mikhail Gorbachev's statement at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, we phoned the Gorisskiy party rayon committee. The rayon committee said that Comrade Gorbachev had given a 2-day deadline, yet 4 days have passed and the road is still closed. Forty trucks have been waiting at the Goris-Lachin border for 2 months.

The neighboring republic's so-called fighters armed with automatic weapons have taken up positions at three or four locations and are keeping the roads impassable. It is now clear that the supreme leader's instructions are not being implemented. We expect resolute measures from him.

Lvov Reviews 'Disruption' in Transcaucasus

LD3009171289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0845 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 30 Sep (TASS)—TASS Observer Aleksey Lvov writes:

There has been no let-up in tension in Nagorno-Karabakh, one of the "hotspots" in the Soviet Transcaucasus. The grave consequences of unfavorable weather conditions have added to the difficulties arising from interethnic problems that for years have not been tackled. An unprecedented drought for these parts has destroyed grain crops and burned the pastures. Serious losses are arising from the severing of the road and rail links of this autonomous oblast, which forms part of Azerbaijan, with other regions of the country.

The absence of fuel at agrarian concerns has halted the harvesting of grapes, the state order for which has been underfulfilled by 60 percent. The situation in public sector animal husbandry is even worse, since the oblast's farms have to date received only one-tenth of their monthly volume of concentrated feeds. The livestock farms have begun an above-plan slaughtering of animals, but it is impossible even to process the meat on the spot.

The blockade of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) is also causing losses to the national economy of Azerbaijan itself. Thus it has become known that there have been complications in the town of Kirovabad connected with the nonreceipt of meat output from the NKAO. Meanwhile, it was precisely in that town that a few days ago a many-thousands-strong crowd halted a convoy of petrol tankers going to military stores for fuel and made it return to Stepanakert.

In Yerevan, the capital of the neighboring republic of Armenia, which has for all intents and purposes been subjected to a blockade (up to 85 percent of all its national-economic goods coming to the republic through Azerbaijan) there has been a meeting of party and local soviet leaders, which discussed the progress of preparations for the autumn and winter period. The talk was about road construction in areas that were stricken by last year's earthquake and of creating stocks of materials and fuel. The work of rail transport was also examined. The participants of the meeting noted that the disruption of its work in the territory of Azerbaijan recently had caused serious hold-ups in construction work and in preparations of housing and municipal services for winter.

Unfortunately, the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia have not yet managed to remove the tension in relations between the two fraternal neighboring peoples. In this situation many sober-minded people in these republics are pinning great hopes on implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee September plenum, which discussed issues relating to interethnic relations in the country.

In the present very complex situation that has come about in Azerbaijan and Armenia, Georgia appears as a sort of "island of calm" in the Transcaucasus. The workadays of this republic, which last summer was the arena for tragic interethnic clashes, are characterized now by intensive toil and a striving to develop the economy and culture of this region of the country. In this regard Georgia's international links are of considerable importance. A few days ago a specific program was adopted for joint activity by major technical higher educational establishments in the town partners of Tbilisi and Saarbruecken (in the FRG). Information technology, communications, and instrument-making have been designated as priority spheres for contacts.

Armenian Party Reviews Supplies Shortage

NC0110103689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 1 Oct 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee heard reports given by directors of a number of ministries, departments, and organizations concerning the transportation and consumer services situation, and about supplies of food, mass consumer goods, raw materials, fuel, building materials, and machinery. The supply of these materials had been disrupted because of the road and rail blockade.

The committee also heard a report by the Yerevan party city committee and Ministry of Trade on the serious shortcomings in the sale of processed meat by the cooperative shops. The committee instructed the republic's Council of Ministers to improve the [words indistinct] organization of processed meat.

Basic Commodities Scarce

NC3009085289 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Central television and press have been gradually giving wider coverage during the last few months to the shortage of consumer goods. Despite higher output, matches, soap, potatoes, flour, soda, and similar basic daily commodities [words indistinct]. All goods coming from outside the republic are also in short supply. [passage omitted].

Newsprint Shortage Updated

PM2909102389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kaushanskiy report: "Time To Put Away the Stones"]

[Text] In the line at the newspaper kiosk in the center of Yerevan you can't help realizing how fragile the threads connecting us with civilization are today. There are no newspapers, no information, you already feel a spiritual unease and you can't help beginning to listen to rumors. It cannot be denied that the item shot in Yerevan and shown 21 September on the "Vremya" program about the difficulties with newsprint in the city was obviously not conducive to optimism. The deserted printing presses, the publishing houses' empty "granaries"....

But today the people of Yerevan were lucky. In the morning I bought the republican newspaper KOMMUNIST, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and SOVETSKIY SPORT. I asked the stall holder where PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA were? The answer was: "Wait for the plane from Moscow." "And what about KRASNAYA ZVEZDA?" "They're bringing it from Tbilisi. What do you want, are you only interested in the shortage of newspapers? Look at what is happening around you...."

But first about the extremely painful newspaper situation. Although it was early, I found G. Torosyants, director of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee publishing house, in his office.

"We stopped getting newsprint from suppliers a month ago. Yet we use up to 30 tonnes a day. The rail cars meant for us, and there are more than 15, are standing idle on Azerbaijan's territory. Did you notice that the newspaper pages of the issues you bought today are a bit thicker than usual? The paper was obtained from the state reserve, it was meant for books and magazines. Part of the print run has been printed for retail, and subscribers will get their newspapers only in the evening."

"What are the prospects?"

"We are waiting for seven cars of newsprint from Georgia. This is a drop in the ocean, it is enough for a week's work. All the same I am optimistic. I believe in common sense: The coming USSR Supreme Soviet session must lift the 'blockade' in which we find ourselves."

And here is the opinion of A. Aroyan, first deputy chief of the Yerevan department of the Transcaucasian railroad: "The situation is virtually unchanged. Many thousands of cars meant for Armenia are still standing idle in Azerbaijan, they contain gasoline, provisions, including perishables, and construction materials for the areas affected by the earthquakes. Every day our deliveries are about a thousand cars short. Yet our sector is not private property."

V. Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, also painted a bleak picture of the economic situation in his speech today at the republic's Supreme Soviet session. The "blockade" has struck primarily at the most vital interests of Armenia's inhabitants. One man was unable to get his wife to the maternity home in time because of the lack of gasoline, another wasted a lot of time while standing in line for bread, someone else failed to receive very urgently needed construction materials.

Lieutenant Colonel A. Dushkevich, chief of the Leninakan construction administration, who was my neighbor in the hotel, noted laconically: "The cement situation is bad. We are hoping that things will turn out fine, but we simply must fulfill the plan to commission housing." By the way, a few days ago republican television reported that an exodus has begun from the earthquake areas of construction workers who were sick of doing nothing, and waiting for something to turn up.

"Blockade," "stones war," "refugees," and "highway ambushes,"—military terminology predominates in the lexicon of relations between the two republics today, and this meager vocabulary has not yet been supplemented with constructive expressions.

Yes, the "stones war," unfortunately, is not a myth from the Stone Age. And in addition to stone bullets often fly from the ambushes, and each broken windshield also dashes hopes that the situation will be rapidly defused. When will the time come to put away the stones? It should have come a long time ago.

PRAVDA Article on Rail Deliveries Refuted

NC2909142589 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] A report published in the 27 September issue of PRAVDA under the headline "Azerinform Echelons Go to Armenia" contains erroneous information. Only 700 rail cars arrived in Armenia in one day instead of the planned 1,360. The report claims that 58 rail cars loaded with (?foodstuffs) were dispatched to Armenia. However, only 3 cars actually arrived and two contained rotten potatoes and the other spoiled fish. Obviously these cars were loaded long ago and stranded by the blockade.

Azerbaijan transport workers have now adopted a new tactic. They detach those rail cars containing foodstuffs and fuel and send the remaining cars to Armenia.

Correspondent Gives Update 27 Sep

LD2709155789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Live studio link-up with special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko in Stepanakert and studio presenter Pavel Kasparov]

[Text] [Kasparov] We have on the line our special correspondent in Stepanakert, Sergey Omelchenko. I believe he can hear me. Can you hear?

[Omelchenko] Yes, good morning.

[Kasparov] So, Sergey, good morning, we know that the situation in this region of our great country has been and is being discussed by the Supreme Soviet deputies—it is at the center of their attention. This was also mentioned by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his introductory speech when he opened the session. He said that certain deadlines have been set, even for the government of our country as a whole, and for local bodies to ensure that the situation is normalized. So my first question to you is: What is the situation like at the moment.

[Omelchenko] Well, at a superficial glance, the cities and settlements of Nagorno-Karabakh are normal. The situation is, thank God, calm for the moment. If there are raw materials and other materials, enterprises are functioning, children are attending school and special charity cafeterias have been opened now, because the food situation here is quite bad. Whereas reports from Armenia, even though only slightly reassuring, are coming in about a weakening or even lifting of the blockade, here in Nagorno-Karabakh, unfortunately, the situation remains unchanged. As before, 1,500 railway cars are standing idle on the railway from (Evlakh) to Stepanakert, carrying vitally important goods and materials. Traffic has also been brought to a halt on all the roads leading to Armenian settlements in Nagorno-Karabakh. Occasionally transport is accompanied under military guard to the Azerbaijan town of Shushu. The gas situation in the oblast is very bad and sometimes there is not even enough for the ambulances. This is why the harvest of fine grapes is rotting. Here is a characteristic example: the interfarm association [name indistinct] in Askeran Rayon has almost completely stopped feeding livestock because the association's stores are empty. The last 40 tonnes of concentrated feed were received at the beginning of September.

Freight, mainly flour, of course flour, other food products, fuel and medicine are being brought in by planes and helicopters and the pilots are working tirelessly. Servicemen, in addition to their main duties of maintaining law and order, are helping bring in the harvest and in many other agricultural jobs are trying at least in someway to alleviate the difficult situation that has arisen in the autonomous oblast.

[Kasparov] Sergey, I can understand that, of course, it is very complex in a situation where transport is virtually at a standstill and where there are hold-ups in supplies, but what are the local authorities doing to normalize the situation in the political sense, let's say? Specifically, so as, ultimately, to avoid unpleasant incidents?

[Omelchenko] Unfortunately, apart from the leadership of the Committee for Special Administration, I have not noticed any movements toward solving this problem. Unfortunately, propaganda calling for the consolidation of forces and for reconciliation between the two peoples is, in my view, quite weak at the moment and, of course, extensive work in this area should be carried out not only within the oblast but, in my view, work should be conducted from the center as well.

Here, of course, some work is being done by officials on the Committee for Special Administration and local party and soviet workers, but this is far from sufficient, all the same, and besides this, it is taking place unilaterally because the blockade is not only physical, that is, there is no traffic along the roads, but there is simply no communication between the Armenian and Azerbaijan peoples. This kind of mutual understanding, at least some slight mutual trust, has to be achieved above all.

I would like to add: Who on earth had this crazy, simply criminal idea of blockading an entire oblast? I cannot get this into my head. I can't understand it at all; to force women, children, the elderly, the sick and powerless to suffer both morally and physically. The blockade is a barbarian medieval method of conducting wars. It is not an acceptable way to resolve even the most complex conflicts in our civilized world and, all the more in our state, which has proclaimed the noble principles of democracy, legality and humaneness.

[Kasparov] As far as the present situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and in Transcaucasia as a whole is concerned, I would like to nevertheless, to return once again to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech in which he said that our country's Supreme Soviet is generally seriously concerned by the situation and this situation is and will remain at the center of attention, and in the very near future ways of resolving this problem, this situation, must be found in the interests of all sides, as they say. Thank you Sergey, thank you. Let me remind you that that was a live link-up with Stepanakert where our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko is working at present.

Azeris Allegedly Receiving Aid

NC2909125589 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 28 Sep 99

[Text] The continuing blockade of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] is naturally having an adverse effect on the economy of its capital city, which is in a perilous situation today. All production enterprises are working, but their future is uncertain. For example, if the factory that produces electrical equipment does not receive paint soon, it will be forced to cease operations by the beginning of October. The same fate awaits other production enterprises.

Azerbaijan's hostile actions against the NKAO and Armenia are exclusively targeted against the Armenian people. How else can the the fact that the Azerbaijani settlements in the NKAO are being given assistance in the form of building materials and foodstuffs be explained? Is this not proof that the Azerbaijani side dreams of an NKAO without Armenians and hopes to force them to abandon their native land?

Armenian Commission To Assess Losses

NC2909131089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers has decided to set up a commission to assess the material damages caused by those irresponsible people who organized the blockade of the Armenian Republic and to submit proposals for calling the culprits to account and forcing them to pay for the losses. Mkrtchyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's State Planning Committee, was appointed commission chairman. The commission has been instructed to sumbit its findings to the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers by 5 October.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Decision on NKAO

NC0110191589 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 26 Sep 89

["The Decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Concerning Proposals Being Presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the Solution of the Problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO)"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Almost 2 years have passed since the NKAO soviet of people's deputies, expressing the Armenian population's sovereignty and endeavoring to realize their inviolable right to self-determination, adopted a decision to withdraw the oblast from the structure of Azerbaijan SSR and reunite it with the Armenian SSR .

Proceeding from the fact that all peoples are equal and have the right to decide their political status and that a state's rights in a territory should be based on the principle of self-determination and that a territory's inhabitants cannot be regarded as mere appendages;

Resolutedly and unreservedly supporting Lenin's principle of self-determination, which has been enshrined in the treaty on the formation of the USSR and in the USSR Constitution as the foundation for interethnic relations within the multinational Soviet state;

Considering that the Soviet federation should be based on the equality and free self-determination of the peoples at all levels and that this precludes the forcible subjugation of one people to another;

Proceeding from the fact that self-determination is the source of friendship among peoples and that its denial leads to interethnic discord;

Considering that the idea of restructuring in interethnic relations, the new thinking, and the creation of a Soviet state based on law are incompatible with the forced subjugation of any people or group within the state's borders;

Proceeding from the fact that in line with the international legal obligations emanating from the USSR Constitution, the treaty on the formation of the Soviet federation, the UN Charter, the European Security and Cooperation Final Act, and a number of other international conventions, the Soviet Union, like all other states, is under the obligation to show proper respect for a people's self-determination and to assist in its realization as well as to refrain from exerting any pressure and to protect human rights;

Considering that the NKAO problem was raised not by Armenia but by the people of the NKAO and hence should be regarded solely as a question of self-determination;

In view of the NKAO's incorporation into the structure of the Azerbaijan SSR on the basis of the illegal 5 July 1921 decision of the Russian Communist Bolshevik Party, which lacked the authority to issue this ruling, and the consequent violation of the rights of the Armenian people, which at the time made up 95 percent of the oblast's population;

Given the fact that the 20 February 1988 decision of the NKAO soviet stems from the oblast population's constitutional right to self-determination and that the Sumgait crime was nothing more than an attempt to terrorize the NKAO population and thereby transfer the question to sphere of interethnic conflict:

The Armenian Supreme Soviet hereby declares that the NKAO problem is not a conflict between the two republics; rather, it is the expression of the will of the NKAO people and must be solved on the basis of this people's right to self-determination.

Proceeding from the above premise the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet hereby decides:

1. To ask the USSR Supreme Soviet to recognize during its September session the NKAO's right to self-determination as expressed in the 20 February and 12 July 1988 decisions of the oblast's soviet of people's deputies.

2. To recognize the national council elected at the congress of the plenipotentiary representatives of the NKAO population as the ruling body representing the will and the interests of the population of Artsakh [NKAO] until the reinstatement of the oblast's soviet of people's deputies.

3. To establish a special commission of the Armenian Supreme Soviet to study the treaties and decisions of 1920 and 1921, which were made illegally and which contravened the most basic norms of international law, and to present proposals to the next session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] H. Voskanian, chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and N. Stepanian, secretary of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet
[Dated] 17 September 1989 in Yerevan

Armenian Party Discusses 'Grass-Roots' Activity

NC2909115189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau held a regular meeting yesterday and discussed the progress of the party's grass-roots activities and election campaigns. It was noted that the party's grass-roots election campaign is being conducted in an organized, disciplined, and businesslike manner with party members playing an active role.

The meeting's participants expressed indignation at the economic blockade and demanded immediate action be taken to lift it. The speakers stressed that a constructive approach must be used to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast problem and the interethnic conflict. It was determined at the bureau meeting that many party committees have not properly coordinated and conducted their submission of accounts and their election campaigns. [passage omitted]

It was also decided that communications in the disaster zone remain unsatisfactory. The plans for City, rayon, and village phone service are not being fulfilled. Leninakan, Spitak, and Stepanavan have an inadequate number of phones and the situation is worse in the villages. Other issues related to the party and the republic's social, political, and economic life were also discussed.

Winter Plans for Armenian Quake Zone Discussed

LD3009104589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1908 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Yerevan, 29 Sep (TASS)—The progress of preparations for the autumn-winter period 1989-90 in regions of Armenia which suffered from the earthquake was discussed at a conference of party and local soviet leaders in Yerevan. It was conducted by Valeriy Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission of the Council of Ministers for Emergency Situations.

The participants in the conference examined in detail a program of measures to prepare for this difficult period. These include the restoration and construction of roads in areas where new construction work is being carried out, the timely supply of materials and fuel, and the preparation of equipment and technology and other tasks.

The conference also examined the question of the work of rail transport. Violations of its activity on the territory of Azerbaijan recently have led to serious disruption in the construction and preparation of the housing and communal services economy for the winter. If no further measures are taken to ensure the normal work of the railways this could lead to disruption of the preparation of enterprises and the housing and community services economy of regions of Armenia which suffered from the earthquake for working in winter conditions.

Armenian Chemical Plant To Halt Production

NC2909145789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers and the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production have jointly decided to dismantle a series of production lines at the Rubin chemical plant in Kirovakan. According to the USSR Council of Ministers' interdepartmental and scientific-technical research commission, two active tectonic plates intersect underneath the plant, which is located in the industrial area of the city. The reprocessing of poisonous chemical (?waste) could not be done safely under these conditions. [passage omitted]

The main department of capital construction of the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production has been instructed to draw up a new master plan within 2 months for the Rubin factory in consultation with the

[word indistinct] of the Armenian State Committee for Construction Affairs and the Armenian Health Ministry. [passage omitted]

Armenian Foreign Bank Set Up in Yerevan

NC3009111489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Banks are playing a larger role because of the vigorous growth in foreign trade. A republican foreign trade bank was created in Yerevan recently, and transactions in foreign currency increased substantially.

Before, only nontrade transactions, such as buying foreign currency and payment for purchases, were conducted in Yerevan. Now the enterprises, including the union enterprises, keep their money in the bank.

The Yerevan bank can now use this money to open credits for various enterprises. Soon it will be able to establish ties with foreign banks without the Moscow bank as intermediator. Financial contributions from around the world after the December disaster are concentrated in the newly established bank. [passage omitted].

Military Officer on Upcoming Exercise in Armenia

NC2909134089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 29 Sep 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The recent announcement that the Transcaucasian Military Okrug will hold exercises in Armenia has met with an unusual reaction in the republic. In view of the complex situation prevailing in the region, an ARMENPRES reporter asked Major General Surkov, USSR people's deputy and chief of the political department of the Yerevan garrison, to evaluate this development. Surkov's evaluation is published in the paper.

Armenians' Security in Soviet Army Questioned

NC0110104589 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] (?The roll call) of army draftees from Yerevan and from other regions of the republic has been going on for 2 months. Some of the servicemen had been on leave (?and were) returning to their service locations. Nineteen-year old Suren Simonian told reporters that he and his friends demand that the Armenian Army draftees serve in Armenia in the disaster area. He added: Today the security of Armenian youth in the Soviet Army cannot be ensured. A number of them have died in unusual and odd ways during the last few months.

Azeri Deputies Criticize Ethnic Dispute Coverage

LD3009170589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] (?Amanov), Bilal-Zade, Rzayev, Abbasov, Azizbeyova, Alaskerova, (?Barizovna), Gadzhiyev, Ibragimov, Mamedov, Namazova, Abbasov, Nazimov and (?Gasanov), the USSR People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet members from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic came out with an appeal to the editorial board of PRAVDA.

The appeal says: We, the USSR people's deputies from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, like all Soviet people, felt deep grief over the death of two militiamen from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, (?Tugayev and Gaba). We extend our sincere condolences to the families of the deceased. Any deaths of innocent people—representatives of either the army, the internal affairs troops, or the civilian population—brings sad feelings to our hearts. The victims' blood calls for [word indistinct], feeling of responsibility and for taking all possible measures to stop such tragedies. It demands serious responsibility from those who illuminate these events in this or that way. In the conditions of extremely exacerbated relations between nationalities in our region, every item in the central press must be written with full consideration of affairs and must not cause further exacerbation of the situation [words indistinct].

The spirit [as heard] and many claims and explanations on 27 September 1989, aroused a feeling of sorrow and disappointment among our (?readers). Attempts to connect the crime, whose justice is a matter of discussion, with the name of Azerbaijan People's Front are completely groundless. The People's Front of Azerbaijan resolutely condemns all cases of violence. The author, who in the beginning of the article says that he or she does not intend to interfere in the process of investigation and assess the facts, at the same time—without waiting for the results of court's investigation and with the language of (?people) with open and clear ill intention—creates a rather biased imagination in the readers and interferes in the investigation process. In the meantime, the progress of events explained in the AZERINFORM report, is completely denied. The author, who explains in length the impression of the tragedy near Agdam, is contented with a few vague sentences about the equally frightening and excessive actions which took place in Stepanakert and led to grave injuries of other military officers. The horrific tragedy which resulted in the deaths of nine people including women, elders, and a 5-year old child, and the explosion of the passenger bus near Yevlakh were reflected in PRAVDA in only a few lines. One gets the impression that even the reliable press organ of PRAVDA presents the events to readers in a biased way. It does not see some tragedies, and focuses excessive attention to some others.

Thus, in [words indistinct] days, unhealthy emotions are being incited. A completely ill-intentioned article entitled "Blockade" in the newspaper MOSKOVSKIY

NOVOSTI also serves rather dirty aims. It is seen that this article, too, is published on the occasion of the session beginning its work. We are making tireless efforts to find the ways of eliminating interethnic disputes and such press materials only makes the work being done in this direction more difficult.

Rural Azerbaijan Sets Example of Steady Work

PM0210103589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[PRAVDA special correspondents A. Petrushov, V. Somov report: "Against the Current"]

[Excerpts] Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic—Normal life in Baku has been paralyzed by the strike for days. A resounding silence reigns in factory shops. There are no taxis or buses on the streets. The closed stores are a dismal sight. And what is happening in other cities and rayons in the republic? At random we selected Neftechala. It is out in the sticks, some 200 km from the capital.

"Not one collective suspended work here even for an hour," A. Suleymanov, first secretary of the rayon party committee [raykom] told us. "People are well aware that any disruption of the labor rhythm could wipe out the achievements of 4 years of perestroyka in one full swoop."

To what achievements was the secretary referring? Our economic successes to date are less than modest. It is enough to look at the shelves in stores selling food and consumer goods. The wheel of economic reform is turning very slowly and creakily. Evidently noticing the disbelief on our faces, our interlocutor walked over to his papers:

[Suleymanov] Naturally, we have as many difficulties as everyone else. However, take a look: In the past 4 years the prime cost of a quintal of meat has decreased by 62 percent, and of milk by 75 percent. It seems that we are swimming against the current. As is known, the trend everywhere is toward higher costs, while ours are going down.

[Correspondents] But have not prices for machinery, fertilizers, and construction materials gone up? Has this had no impact on Neftechalinskiy Rayon?

[Suleymanov] You bet! Precisely because of this we were forced to introduce strict economies. For instance, the consumption of feeds per quintal of milk and meat has been reduced on average by a factor of 2.8. And we have embarked in earnest on the production of feeds. Five years ago our main attention centered on cotton, which provided our main profits. However, when the administrative reins were slackened and farms found that they were able to plan their work by themselves, the area under cotton was reduced in favor of feed crops. And over the past 4 years yields per hectare have doubled. [Suleymanov ends] [passage omitted]

...We have to admit that during a visit to a livestock unit on the "Azerbaijan" collective farm [kolkhoz] we found ourselves in an awkward position. The milkmaids and cowmen were dressed in white coats. We cracked a joke: Had they dressed up for the visitors? Chairman A. Eyvazov did not try to disprove this with words. He took us on a tour of the livestock unit. The animals looked well cared for and fed. The premises were spick-and-span. [passage omitted]

The kolkhoz chairman felt he simply had to show us the new cultural center and the cozy out-patient clinic which fully deserves the title of polyclinic, since all types of specialists perform surgery here. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the village of Ashagy Sura, the kolkhoz center, also enjoy the services of a pharmacy and a trade center. They are unstinting here with money when it comes to developing social, cultural, and consumer facilities. They would build even more, but they are being held back by shortages of construction materials and the sluggishness of contractors.

When we returned to Baku, the strike was still on. Hundreds of trains, including trains carrying food, were laid up on sidings. It is being claimed that people have suspended work out of noble motives, in order to draw attention once again to burning problems. However, is this really the best way to resolve problems? The stance of the people in Neftechala is, of course, preferable.

Boycott Against Ukrainian Folk Festival Fails

LD0110215989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A republican festival of Ukrainian folk art has ended in Lvov.

[Correspondent V. Lyashko—identified by screen caption] One might think that the situation today is such that there would be no place for festivities or pompous celebrations. Each of us and the country as whole have enough things to worry about. But it only seems so. The festival of folk art that was held in Lvov for 3 days showed graphically that folk traditions, language, arts, and crafts are alive and developing in the Ukraine and that the people's historical memory is alive, too. [Video shows town streets, groups of performers] [passage omitted]

Speaking about the festival, one cannot omit the event that took place 2 hours before the solemn opening of the celebration. Here, at Lenin Prospect, where for some time Lvov's Hyde Park has taken shape, another rally was held. [video shows two hand-written posters in Ukrainian denouncing provocations by workers of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs and desecration of national symbols and calling on citizenry to protest against such acts; a man holding a blue-black-white flag]

Yet again, relations between the municipal authorities and representatives of informal association are being sorted out. Words about an alleged decline of national culture and language and demands to give economic and political independence to the Ukraine were voiced again. But neither this rally nor the appeals to boycott the festival put forward in some leaflets pasted around here did not spoil the festival because the festival showed the real rebirth of national culture and folk art better than any words. [video shows speakers at the rally, people listening, national flags displayed]

'Rukh' Congress Reflects Perestroyka Issues

PM2809114189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 p 2

[Special correspondent P. Polozhevets "Viewpoint": "'Rukh' Stands for People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka. Its Constituent Congress Was Recently Held in Kiev"]

[Text] I was not allowed inside the press center. Nor was I allowed inside the congress hall. The Editorial Office certificate was of no use. "Don't even try to get in without an accreditation card"—that was the clear advice I was given by an inebriated young bodyguard with a dyed Cossack forelock and a blue band on his sleeve. The card in question was obtainable from the press center. My sole consolation was the fact that I was by no means the only one in this position. Initially, even people's deputies were not allowed inside. The bodyguards had not been given clear instructions about them...

Nonetheless, I did get inside the building—with a little help from my colleagues. I was given the "cherished" card, with two bold lines across in blue and yellow; true enough, it read "Delegate" instead of "Press," but this no longer mattered...

Some 280,000. That is the number of "Rukh" supporters in the Ukraine today. So it was claimed at the congress. This was the republic's first gathering under the same roof of clergy from the Orthodox Church and the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church, Communists, workers and academicians, unemployed people, "Greens," representatives of the "Ukrainian Helsinki Union" who have spent considerable time in jail for "nationalism," and newly elected Communist Youth Union [Komsomol] secretaries. The 1,109 delegates included 109 workers, 16 peasants, 228 Communists and candidate members of the CPSU, and 24 Komsomol members. Their average age was 42. They had little in common in terms of life experience, and their views were at times diametrically opposite and even mutually exclusive. Poet Dmitro Pavlychko, who chaired the sitting, called on several occasions for patience and tolerance, asking people to remember that all our misfortunes stem from the fact that the majority did not always listen to individuals.

Political struggle has become a reality—whether we admit it or not. The word "initiative" almost always had a suspect sound to it. Everyone who spoke out was considered a godsend for spies. Silence turned into a sign of our genetic type. Now, suddenly, everybody has started speaking out (and this in a republic which believed that it had virtually no problems at all and that it had actually embarked on perestroyka almost 10 years ago). The people have not only started speaking out about the fact that waiting lines are growing longer, that goods are vanishing, and that Chernobyl will be with us for ever; they have started thinking about how to make people's power an actual reality, why the party is trailing in the wake of the processes seething within society, and why the Ukraine has lost its originality; and about the need not simply to develop but actually to revive national culture. And so, last January, an action group from the Ukrainian Writers Union and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences Literature Institute came out with a program for a people's movement for perestroyka. It was published only by LITERATURNA UKRAYINA, the writers' organ.

Ever since the times of class struggle, the idea of struggle with the enemy until a victorious end, until his total destruction, has been firmly implanted in our flesh and blood. So it appeared that anyone who appraised life and the country in a new fashion might be an "enemy." There were even times when an "enemy" was needed to provide the sensation of being a real force. This is probably why "Rukh" has been supported by those who blame none but the party for all misfortunes. On the other hand, the sense of "rising danger" did not leave the party organs inactive.

They did not decide to ban the new movement. They chose different tactics. Just scan the republican newspapers. Angry letters stigmatizing the writers and those "who want to undermine Soviet power and inflame national enmity." Reports of rallies at which workers demand that all those "who are trying to usurp power" be brought to book.

Bringing different people into an open clash is by no means a new tactic. But the motivation for such tactics is ever new. The current situation was preprogrammed by lack of preparedness for political struggle and political cooperation. And not actually with the party's opponents, but with those who criticize it, those who are essentially in favor of perestroyka but are seeking their own path... Social egoism, and the fear of having their political comfort disturbed, forced the functionaries into doing everything to prevent the people from supporting "Rukh." The result was the exact opposite. The movement's supporters were growing in numbers. Even people who did not share its ideas were joining it. They supported it as a means of countering official opinion. This phenomenon has already been encountered in our life recently. One of today's leaders has been successful—in my opinion—not through the depth of his intellectual platform, not even through his sharp criticism of the reforms or of Gorbachev himself, not through populist

slogans, but probably owing to the fact that he has become the first official oppositionist within the party in the last few decades.

People say: But how are we to seek a common language with "Rukh" members, seeing that they blame the party for everything. But they take only the ruling party to task. We have found ourselves on the brink of a catastrophe, in a state of crisis—and no single individual is to blame for this: We all are to blame for it. So we must all look into our theory and practice and figure out how to live and what to do in the future.

Ukrainian publications kept silent while the congress was being held. RATAU, the Ukrainian news agency, enjoyed a total monopoly of information. The bomb exploded late Sunday evening, just before the congress ended its work. Writer Ivan Drach, already elected chairman of "Rukh," read out a statement by Andrey Zubko, chief of department at the republican newspaper MOLOD UKRAYINI, to the effect that the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department had advised the newspaper not to print anything of its own. Other publications were given the same advice, incidentally. The newspaper RADYANSKA UKRAYINA, organ of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, had to publish a RATAU commentary twice. On the first occasion, they ran a risk and trimmed the official material by some 100 lines. Evidently a serious scandal flared up. The next day the commentary had to be reprinted, with all the cuts restored, and even with an apology to the effect that the editorial office was to blame for allowing the truth to be distorted for technical reasons.

Who is the ultimate judge of what is truth? Why RATAU and not, say, the newspaper RABOCHEYE SLOVO, published by the Southwest Railroad? It has its own view of the congress. This may be why the in-house newspaper was on display for just a few hours next to the official commentary on the board at the Ukrainian State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting...

RATAU made efforts to ensure that the "official truth" was brought to the notice of as many people as possible, and not just to readers of republican publications. Here we are approaching year's end, there is a shortage of newsprint, and suddenly newsprint was made available: The news agency published 600,000 copies of its commentary in leaflet form the next day. And the mail service endeavored to slip them inside publications which were not on the RATAU list, like KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, for example.

The republic's economic autonomy and the forthcoming local soviet elections, the ecological situation and the future of nuclear power engineering, the consequences of Stalinism and the draft law on languages—these questions were foremost on the congress delegates' minds. They adopted a dozen resolutions and addresses. True enough, they contain more emotional appraisals and identifications of sore points than constructive proposals. But they all boil down to the fact that the republic is in a state of crisis.

"If we compare in current prices what the Ukraine brings in and what it ships out, the republic is living with a deficit in the order of R6 billion. But if everything is calculated in world prices, a completely different picture emerges. ...The republic today has at its disposal only 5 percent of the industrial output produced on its territory." This was not said at the congress. These words were spoken by V.A. Ivashko, second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The political situation is not simple, either. Many party leaders lost the struggle in the last elections. (It seemed as if no struggle had actually been waged. Accustomed to the standard result for decades on end, they had not even prepared to struggle.)

A remarkable event occurred just before the elections in Kiev, in the city center and almost next door to the city soviet executive committee building. Someone had bought a handful of brochures containing the law on elections and was reselling them, or simply giving them away to those who had no money. He was picked up. Why? Unsanctioned rally? Demonstration? Anti-Soviet propaganda? Nothing of the sort. The man simply wished to make sure that the elections were elections rather than just a game. Another incident occurred after the elections. A rally was being held across the road from the Supreme Soviet Presidium building. It was dispersed. Unfortunately for him, writer Nikolay Kagarlitskiy happened to be passing by. He stood up for the young kids who were being thrown inside the vehicles like sacks of flour. He was beaten up and dragged off to the precinct house. Everything ended "normally," as the saying goes. The republic's deputy minister of internal affairs publicly apologized to the writer, but for his part Kagarlitskiy joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Union—something he had never even thought about doing before.

This is probably enough on the subject. At a recent plenum of the Kiev city party committee, one of the republic's party leaders was asked: "Now that all the processes are exacerbated in the extreme, do the Politburo and the Central Committee know, do you personally know how to get out of the crisis?" The reply consisted of prolonged, pained silence and the honest statement: "If only I did know..."

Maybe the new movement itself still does not know what has to be actually done in order to build, as was said at the congress, "a democratic society and a sovereign republic." Ideas and slogans take you only halfway there. How are they to be implemented? For the time being we are still talking more about who and what is to blame, and few people know how and by what means to get things straight. One point is obvious: It is only together with the party which launched perestroyka that we will be able to build a new society, a renewed and cleansed

society. Not for nothing did the poet Dmitro Pavlychko keep repeating: We shall cooperate with party organs. Not for nothing did Leonid Kravchuk, chief of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department, said: I will do everything possible to ensure that the party and the people's movement cooperate. But they both obviously felt that this thesis was not to everyone's liking....

It was only yesterday that they stood on different sides of the barricade, it was only yesterday that people talked about belonging "either to the Communist Party or to 'Rukh.'" A compromise was sought at the congress. It was difficult to find. It will be even more difficult to arrive at genuine cooperation in real life. The thread is still fine and fragile. Just a single word can explode and destroy everything. But what happens when it comes to gross abuse and a shouting match? And not from an ordinary person enjoying the right to speak out for the first time in his life, but from a people's deputy? Who takes the liberty of hurling insults instead of political charges: "He sedates the people with tincture of valerian, while he himself guzzles cognac"—this was said about a chief of department at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Someone else probably considers himself the most courageous person in the Soviet Army, seeing that he was able to exclaim: "Show me at least one honest person in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo!" Both N.A. Kutsenko and V.A. Martirosyan had to travel a hard and even dramatic path to become deputies. Even though this was fully within the spirit of our time and traditions. (One of them was even arrested just before the elections.) It is, however, impossible to deal with affairs of state while burdened by personal grievances. Policy is not made by an aggrieved mind, nor is it made by insults. Intoxicated by emotions, one could "wind up" and carry a crowd, and the crowd would follow anyone tearing his hair and frenziedly beating his chest. But the point is: Where would it follow him? To demolish the obstructions? Or maybe to erect new ones?..

Nationalism seems to be perceived where it does not exist. Ivan Drach, for example, said at one of the meetings: "What would happen if, for the sake of boosting the patriotism of Ukrainian young people, we were to organize a march in the footsteps of Hetman Konashevich-Sagaydachnyy, who marched on Moscow with the Poles in 1618. People would be **perfectly justified** in breaking our legs as soon as we crossed into the very first Great Russian oblast." Some people heard this as a call to march on Moscow, neither more nor less. This is how the charges of nationalism against "Rukh" originate. And yet it was only recently, on 22 May (the anniversary of the day when Shevchenko's remains were brought back to the Ukraine from Petersburg), that Kiev University was closed down and a sanitation day was announced in the library to ensure that, God forbid, no students would assemble that evening on the university campus by the poet's monument.

When I was a student, we used to keep a low profile and sit quietly in our dormitory rooms or rented apartments. The following day, rumors would circulate in the university: What songs were sung, who read poetry aloud—and a day or two later we would learn that some history or philology students had been expelled.

While I was in my 4th year, a course Komsomol meeting was somewhat hastily convened. The dean had made impassioned demands that one of our fellow students should be expelled from the Komsomol. Charged with nationalism. He made no effort to explain what the guy had done or how he had gotten into trouble. Ten of the 100 people present voted against expulsion. Including Marina Vildanova, who was a Tatar. The guy was nonetheless expelled, and the 10 who had voted against were charged with...political shortsightedness and support for Ukrainian nationalism. I recall how people in the party committee tried to "persuade" us: After all, we could not have voted "against" of our own accord, so who (who?!) was it among the lecturers that advised to do so? We were not expelled from the university (that was, after all, in the mid-seventies!), but one student who had been earning top marks all around suddenly started getting "fours," another was refused permission to proceed to postgraduate studies—lack of experience in life—while yet another ended up with a job in the middle of nowhere instead of working on a major newspaper...

Here is something else I recall from those years. The republic's leading ideologist visited a museum. The curators showed him their pride and joy—a collection of Ukrainian cloths and embroidered shirts—something original and unique. "Get rid of all this rubbish!" This was not just a comment by the visitor, it was a directive, an edict, and it took a lot of courage to ignore it. They hid the exhibits away, saved them...

Is it possible to describe as nationalism the desire to know your own history, not the way it has been written and rewritten, but terrifying in its nakedness, the desire not to forget your ancestors' customs, to be able to converse with your children in the native language, to remember ancient songs and heroes? If the answer is yes, then "Rukh" is nationalistic, because it advocates all this, as well as the unity of all who live in the Ukraine—Ukrainians and Russians, Poles and Jews, Belorussians and Crimean Tatars. The congress delegates represented 13 nationalities. There were probably even more, seeing that 60 delegates forgot to indicate their nationality on the questionnaire.

"Rukh" advocates that everyone, if he so wishes, should be able to speak his own native language, sing his people's songs, and have his own schools and clubs. People who live in the same territory share a common blood circulation system. It is impossible to be a patriot of just one people. It was therefore decided that the new social movement cannot manage without a council of nationalities.

True enough, someone might object: But what do national symbols like the blue-yellow flag and the trident imply? Ancient times: These colors appeared on the ensigns of the Kievan Rus principalities and the Zaporozhye Cossacks, while Ryurik's coat of arms incorporated Kiev's most ancient symbol, the trident or bident. All this is stated in the "Complete Collected Laws of the Russian Empire," published in 1830. But I do understand the young Donetsk miner who bluntly stated that workers would not march beneath a blue-yellow flag. They perceive it as an enemy symbol. Twenty people's deputies at the congress adopted a letter to M.S. Gorbachev on the situation in the Ukraine. Having learned about the resolution on national symbols, Deputies Alla (Egerskaya) Yaroshinskaya and Vitaliy Chelyshev withdrew their signatures from this letter... Yes, I also know that Bandera's men used to kill Communists beneath the yellow-blue standard. I remember my parents' tales of wells overflowing with bodies, of the perpetual fear that we would not live to see the next day—I grew up in the Western Ukraine. But it was neither the colors nor the flags that burned, killed, and speared children on pitchforks—it was people who did all that.

I am a Communist. I hold our red banner sacred. And yet it was that banner which sanctified Stalin's murder of millions of innocents, it was that banner which flew above every camp and every investigation detention center. This is an inescapable fact. But it is not the banner that should be blamed for this tragedy.

The congress produced a little bit of everything. Extremism. A slogan: "Create a Ukrainian People's Army so as to ensure that our children do not kill Georgian mothers or disperse demonstrators in Moscow or the Baltic republics." Some people tried to persuade the audience that "the CPSU is the sole anti-Soviet organization in our country, while the great Lenin never was the people's friend, he was their enemy." Attempts were made to address each other as "mister" or "pan." One speaker almost lost his self-control: Get ready for immediate withdrawal from the Union; don't you realize that all our misfortunes stem from unity? Another one, was it the fifth or sixth speaker, demanded a multiparty system. And every now and again the audience chanted: "Shcherbitskiy and Shevchenko—Resign!" In the end, they put forward a thesis: It was apparently not worthwhile supporting the criticism of Stalin because, by accusing him, we exonerate the socialist system.

The muddle was confusing (you would get five persons wanting to speak, waiting by the rostrum, accompanied by as many bodyguards). They wasted time repeating the mistakes of the First Congress of People's Deputies (42 minutes were spent discussing how to elect an editorial commission). Intolerance dominated. Intolerance of other people's opinions and views. Many of those who rushed to the microphones believed that there was just one genuine opinion that was original, independent, and free—their own.

On one of the days, when the gathering was just about to take a break, it was suddenly announced that the press center was to make an exceptionally important statement. Someone mounted the rostrum and said something along these lines: "You are probably thinking to yourselves: Who is that guy in white pants and club blazer rushing about on the stage? Let me introduce myself: Leonid Karnaukhov, chief of the press center. I must tell you that we are dissatisfied with the work done by our journalists. They write nothing, they broadcast nothing. And yet Lucio Leante, Moscow correspondent of ANSA, the Italian news agency, is filing reports four times a day."

What is a press center's normal function? It supplies journalists with information, duplicates documents, reprints speeches, helps you find the person you need to talk to. But in Kiev everything was topsy-turvy. They took it on themselves to "educate" their colleagues and lecture them on who should write what. To top it all, the Ukrainian Television was kicked out of the congress. And that was the topic of the extremely serious statement. Apparently, the previous evening's television program had presented a totally distorted picture of the congress and they could be allowed to work here any more. The audience voted—a forest of raised hands. Nobody was "against." That was understandable; it is, after all insulting to have lies told about you. But suddenly Yuriy Shkarlat mounted the rostrum—the one who had prepared the television report—and asked: Who actually watched television? Only seven raised their hands. But he was nonetheless asked to leave the hall. At that point—strictly speaking—all his fellow journalists should have got up and left the congress. As an expression of professional and ethical solidarity, but alas...

It was planned to hold a rally by the monument to T.G. Shevchenko on the day the congress ended. The sitting dragged on. They decided not to go—it was too late. The people insisted. They marched in the Kiev night, along the former Brest-Litovskiy Avenue, singing and chanting "Glory to the Ukraine!" and "Unity!" Militia "Gazik" trucks were parked all along the sidewalks. They gray shadows of Spetsnaz troops lurked in doorways. They reached the University without incident. There it was said that "Rukh" had been born and must now start to work. A voice was heard through a loudspeaker at 0030 hours: "You have committed several breaches of current legislation. Look at the time—the rally should have ended 1 ½ hours ago. We suggest that the rally is terminated and you disperse."

The People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka is a real fact today. It is no longer possible to pretend that it does not exist, that it is nothing but "an idea by a handful of intellectuals." "Rukh" is taking its first steps and it can grow stronger only through specific action. At present everyone—at least verbally—is in favor of seeking compromise solutions and getting out of the blind alley by peaceful democratic means. But the numerous unambiguous and sharply negative moves made after the congress (the guardians of stagnation

realize that the consolidation of perestroyka forces within "Rukh" is dangerous for them) will hardly help to develop, let alone to implement a constructive program "based on a very deep and competent investigation of the very essence of painful problems like the Ukraine and its future, the USSR and the forms of its state structure in the 21st century, socialism and its possible varieties..." People's Deputy Yuriy Shcherbak once said that our country is now reminiscent of a group of travelers climbing a steep mountain slope, all tied to the same rope—as soon as it is cut and someone is pushed downward, they will all end up in the abyss...

...Incidentally, it rained for 3 days in Kiev. And for 3 days thousands of people stood in the square outside the polytechnical institute from early morning until late at night. Listening to the congress proceedings.

'Extremists' Railroad Rukh Local Section

PM2509101189 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Sep 89 p 4

[Correspondent A. Fedorov report: "Test of Democracy"]

[Text] Chernovtsy—The constituent conference of the regional branch of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka and a rally of the city's residents have been held in Chernovtsy. How did they go, and what judgments did they elicit from people?

When P. Kaspruk, chairman of Chernovtsy City Soviet, proposed introducing into the conference resolution a substantial addendum to the effect that the regional organization of the Ukrainian People's Movement dissociates itself from all antisocial, anti-Soviet, and nationalist organizations which cast doubt on the socialist choice for the country's development, try to destabilize the political situation, and fan interethnic enmity, it was rejected.

"But do we need this People's Movement?" This was the question with which Communist Ye.F. Karpyuk, who was a member of the underground movement in Bukovina and is now a pensioner, began his conversation with us. "Probably we do. But what kind? I will put it briefly: the kind that helps perestroyka. That is precisely what I thought when I went to the conference and then to the rally. But the people who found themselves at the center of those events surprised me—they included Ukrainian Helsinki Union [UHU] members from neighboring oblasts, who turned up among us with yellow and blue banners and with folding metal sticks and pikes, and also nationalist elements from Ivano-Frankovsk, Ternopol, and Lvov. They organized such a provocative orgy of slogans against the Soviet federation that I, like the majority of those present, could not help thinking: Have I come to the right place? If all this is a people's movement, where will it lead us?"

Here is another assessment of what happened. "We delegates from primary cells of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka, representing the collectives of the electromechanical plant, the railroad junction, the 'hosiery' and 'glove and knitwear' production associations, and the domestic chemicals factory, voice a resolute protest at the undemocratic actions of the oblast coordinating council of the Ukrainian People's Movement, which used criteria known to itself alone to select delegates to the conference and did not allow our emissaries to participate in the work of the constituent conference."

This is what these enterprises' representatives—I. Grinchuk, A. Makoviychuk, R. Makoviychuk, F. Mitrinyuk, and V. Tirin—write in their letter to the newspaper.

"They did not let us into the auditorium," they continue, "allegedly because we had not quite correctly filled out extracts from the protocols on setting up primary cells, although in fact no one had elected any conference credentials commission. At the same time all extremists of the UHU nationalist organization, which is known for its improper actions, who had come from neighboring oblasts, were admitted to the conference with no formalities whatever."

"We consider," the letterwriters continue, "that the regional organization set up in Chernovtsy is not a fully-fledged subsection of the true People's Movement for Perestroyka but some group of adventurist elements craving political power."

The position of USSR People's Deputy L.I. Sandulyak also struck us as incomprehensible. He appears to campaign verbally for a rule-of-law state and the deepening of democratic processes, but at the same time he openly promotes a disdainful attitude toward all this on the council that he heads. A convincing example of this was provided by the very elections of delegates to the republic congress of the People's Movement. We have learned that by the time the oblast conference which was to name its delegates to the congress opened, the questionnaires on the "necessary" delegates had already been prepared in advance, sent off to Kiev, and even registered there. Why, then, all that comedy of electing delegates? We resolutely oppose such "democracy."

How does it differ from that pre-perestroyka bureaucracy against which the Ukrainian People's Movement urges us to struggle?

Here is the position of USSR People's Deputy V. Viznyuk, excavator operator for the "Chernovtsystroy" Trust:

"I expressed my attitude to the People's Movement at the constituent conference, to which I was invited. The branch leadership suggested that I become a member of the oblast council. But I replied that I am not a member of the movement. My electoral okrug is the whole oblast, and a deputy must reflect the interests of all his voters, not those of individual sections or groups.

"As for my attitude to the Ukrainian People's Movement, I think that such a people's movement can do a

great deal if the efforts of its members are directed toward consolidating all progressive forces in society on the basis of the principles of perestroyka proposed in the CPSU platform on the nationalities policy of the party under present conditions."

Correspondent: What is your attitude to the fact that the constituent conference rejected the addendum to the resolution on dissociating the Ukrainian People's Movement from all anti-Soviet and nationalist organizations which seek to destabilize the political situation and sow interethnic dissension?

Viznyuk: This probably reflects the position.

Here are the comments of A.K. Poselskiy, deputy head of the Ideological Department of Chernovtsy Ukrainian Communist Party Oblast Committee:

"Unfortunately, the regional organization of the Ukrainian People's Movement, which is taking its first steps in our oblast, has fallen under the influence of people who set themselves different aims. This is indicated by the so-called Chernovtsy program. The authors reject the idea that the Ukrainian People's Movement supports the perestroyka elaborated and presented to society by the CPSU, and this is probably no accident. This is also the position, in particular, of I.S. Zisels, one of the members of this organization's council presidium, who has twice been convicted and, at the same time, is an active member of the UHU. He declared at the conference, contrary to facts known to the whole world, that 'the party did not begin perestroyka, it merely joined with the People's Movement.'"

Incidentally, it is evidently not by chance that the board of the oblast council of the Chernovtsy organization headed by USSR People's Deputy L.I. Sandulyak includes five UHU members and their active supporters. They are also on the council presidium, and four UHU members are also among the delegates to the republic congress. At the same time there is not a single worker on the leading organs at all, nor representatives of the rural population.

It must be pointed out that an absolute majority of enterprise collectives and the rural population really did not go along with the program proposed to the people of Bukovina by the present initiators of creating the Ukrainian People's Movement, and it was simply resolutely rejected in many labor collectives.

In that case, what kind of people's movement is this, even under cover of renewal? And how can it aspire to the right to speak on behalf of the oblast's population if the members of its regional leadership and the congress delegates chiefly represent only themselves?

80,000 March in Minsk Demanding Evacuation

AU0110143089 Paris AFP in English 1311 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 1 (AFP)—Some 80,000 demonstrators marched on government headquarters in Minsk, capital of the western Soviet republic of Belorussia, to demand the right to be evacuated from zones contaminated by the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, a spokesman for the Belorussian Popular Front said Sunday.

Aleksandr Galkievich, one of the leaders of the unofficial Popular Front, said demonstrators marched in Minsk on Saturday [30 September] shouting slogans against Nikolay Slyunkov, a Politburo member and at the time of the Chernobyl accident Communist Party first secretary in Belorussia.

Demonstrators blamed Mr. Slyunkov for failing to warn Belorussians of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in April 1986, which killed 31 people and sent a nuclear cloud over Europe.

The plant is located in Ukraine, a few kilometers (miles) from the Belorussian border.

Residents of contaminated regions last week notified local officials of their intention to demonstrate on Saturday. They demanded that the government evacuate some 116,000 people, especially families with children, from areas most affected by the disaster.

According to Mr. Galkievich, local officials had at first attempted to prevent the march from taking place by naming September 30 a "subbotnik" or "communist Saturday," a day where workers agree to work free for the collectivity.

Mr. Galkievich said the protest was organized by the Popular Front and Belorussian members of parliament.

He said two church services, to be held Sunday in the Minsk cathedral, would be dedicated to residents in contaminated zones.

News Weekly Published in Belorussia

LD1609014989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Minsk—A new publication bearing the title SEVEN DAYS [SEM DNEY] will appear in the Russian and Belorussian languages in the republic. It is a bulletin dealing with news and problems. Readers have already received the first issue. It is expected that the weekly will carry wide coverage of political and public life, write promptly about events in our reality, and provide answers to questions that worry people.

Lithuanian MP's Call for Referendum on Independence

AU0210125089 Paris AFP in English 1244 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 2 (AFP)—Forty of the 42 deputies representing Lithuania in the Soviet parliament sent a message to President Mikhail Gorbachev on Monday calling for a referendum on self-determination for the Baltic republic, nationalists sources said.

The message was handed to Mr. Gorbachev by one of the deputies, Braunis Genzialis, according to a spokesman for Lithuania's mass- movement popular front, Sajudis, reached by phone in Vilnius.

The deputies, many of whom are closely associated with Sajudis, called for wide-ranging discussions with Moscow on subjects such as "the treaty linking Lithuania to the Soviet Union" and "conditions under which Soviet troops are stationed in the republic".

But "the people's deputies are not mandated and there are no structures to engage in discussions on independence or the refusal of independence," the deputies said.

"Such a problem can be overcome by the holding of a direct referendum on the question" of independence, they suggested.

Such a referendum would then allow people to define under what terms they wished to remain part of the Soviet Union, the deputies said, adding that they were convinced "that the people will vote in a way friendly to the Soviet Union".

"The strong will to live independently remains the cornerstone of the political process under way in the Baltic states" of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, the deputies also said.

The referendum idea would be debated by the local Supreme Soviet, or parliament, in Vilnius later this month, the Sajudis spokesman added.

The deputies also denounced as illegal the parliamentary votes which allowed for Moscow's annexation of the Baltic states in 1940, saying these were obtained under conditions of "military occupation and terror".

They further criticized last August's declaration by the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee which warned of "the real threat in some places of a true civil conflict" because of secessionist demands.

Over the weekend, some 50 deputies from the three Baltic republics formed a pro-independence parliamentary group.

Baltic Parliamentary Group invited all deputies to join who "recognize our struggle for self-determination going as far as as separation from the Soviet Union", according to one of the Lithuanian deputies.

The Baltic republics together have about 150 members in the 2,250-strong Congress of People's Deputies.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were independent from 1920 to 1940. Many western countries have refused to recognize the validity of the Soviet annexation.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Ends Session 30 Sep

LD3009182289 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Vilnius September 30 Elta-TASS—A session of the Lithuanian parliament, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic, concluded its work today.

The session promulgated the law of the Lithuanian Republic on elections of deputies to the republican Supreme Soviet and a decree of the Supreme Soviet on the procedure of the enactment of this law.

It is stipulated that the right to vote is granted, until the promulgation of the law on citizenship of the Lithuanian republic, to Soviet citizens permanently residing on the territory of the republic and permanently employed or having a permanent legal source of sustenance.

Servicemen in the troops deployed on the territory of the Lithuanian Republic participate in elections in keeping with the general procedure.

Deputies of the Lithuanian supreme Soviet shall be elected for a 5-year term in one-mandate constituencies by secret ballot on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage.

It was decided that the Supreme Soviet will consist of 141 deputies. Elections are general: the right to elect is granted to citizens of the Lithuanian Republic who have reached the age of 18. A citizen of the republic who has reached the age of 21 may be elected as deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic.

Upon the first reading of the Draft Law of the Lithuanian Republic on Referendum and the Draft Law on the Lithuanian Republic on Citizenship and the following discussion, it was decided to adjourn further debate until the next session.

The session adopted amendments to the articles of the constitution of the Lithuanian Republic dealing with elections to the Supreme Soviet.

The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic adopted a number of other documents.

Party Chief Discusses Draft Laws

LD3009190189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 30 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee A.K. Brazauskas interview with correspondent A. Paulyus; date, place of interview not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [video shows Supreme Soviet in session; Brazauskas interview] [Paulyus] Four days of strenuous labor and discussions, at times heated and trenchant, have been needed to debate the adoption—or lack thereof—of a number of draft laws.

[Brazauskas] The first and main issue, around which a good deal of discussion developed, was on the political situation in the republic. People of various convictions, I would say, spoke in the debate, and gave varying evaluations of the situation in Lithuania; and all, as I understood it, came to the conclusion that whereas economic life is proceeding in the republic in general in a normal way, political life in our republic is anything but tranquil. A document has been adopted, a statement of the Supreme Soviet, which assesses the state of affairs in our republic. This, of course contains an appeal to unite forces and to consolidate in order to tackle the tasks which perestroyka poses us, and which present-day life poses us.

[Paulyus] Comrade first secretary, it will be very bold to say that things are becoming normal and stable.

[Brazauskas] Well, you see, as yet we have no such typological criteria for evaluating things, really. But I could also back this general opinion, because the discussion of other issues which are also very important—namely the law on citizenship, the law on a referendum or referendums, and also, another major issue, adoption of the law on elections to the Supreme Soviet of the republic—these issues are mutually linked, and during discussion of these, issues were raised which were linked with the present life in our republic.

Not all these laws were adopted, however; this is perhaps right and proper, because it would be very bold and even thoughtless, I would say, to adopt such complex matters on the first reading.

[Paulyus] The deputies are taking a very demanding approach to discussion of each issue.

[Brazauskas] All the more so, indeed, in that the law on citizenship, you know, impinges upon the interests of all the inhabitants of the republic and other nationalities, and people whom destiny has for one reason or another flung into Lithuania and who live here, were born here, and have grandchildren born here. We are taking account, as we must, of their rights in this law. As I understand it, the Supreme Soviet has virtually concluded that a zero option is necessary—that is, all inhabitants who live on the territory of the republic, have an occupation, and who on other grounds are permanent inhabitants of the republic, will be citizens of the republic.

Correspondent Reports on Lithuanian Supreme Soviet

LD2909153589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report entitled "Our Federation's Problems" by correspondent Adolfas Paulyus in Vilnius; other contributors identified by screen caption]

[Text] [Paulyus] The session of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet resumed work in Vilnius today. The distinguishing feature of the conduct of a majority of deputies at the present session is to adopt only well thought out, comprehensively considered decisions; this is understandable, too. The draft laws put forward for discussion will be of extraordinary importance for the fate of all the inhabitants of Lithuania and for the development of relations between nationalities.

That is why, despite the demands of those whose positions are extremist, the adoption of the Citizenship Law has been postponed until the next session; nor was the discussion over the draft law on the referendum wound up. The deputies approached the examination of the draft law on the elections with a great deal of responsibility. It is proposed that the residence qualification, provided for in the first variant of the draft, will not apply either to the candidate deputies to the republican Supreme Soviet, or to the voters. [Yu. I. Kuplyauskene, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet] The processes taking place in our republic are interconnected with the processes in the USSR. The further democratization of the USSR and the changes affecting the adoption of laws in our republic represent one integral process of perestroyka.

[L.K. Shepetis, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet] Perhaps one of the most important issues that we discussed during the first part of our session was the Lithuanian Law on Citizenship. It gives the right to the individual to personally determine his own position and defines the terms of reference that apply here. It has not yet been adopted. There were, however, very many substantial amendments and all this has already been printed in today's papers.

As far as the subsequent part of the work of our session is concerned, I regard as, perhaps, the most important—without belittling the other points on the agenda—the issue of adopting the law on the referendum. Here, of course, the essence in this, that the citizens of Lithuania will, on the basis of the law, express their will on the most important political, social and state issues.

[Paulyus] The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet session will continue its work tomorrow.

Vyalyas CPSU Party Plenum Speech Reported

PM0210102189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 22 Sep 89 p 1

[Unattributed account of "Speech by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum" on 19 September 1989; according to a footnote, "The text of the speech is published in full"]

[Text] Quite a lot of time has already passed since the echo of the first ethnic disruption reverberated around the country. But unfortunately many conflicts have been left essentially unresolved. What is worse, they are sometimes even exacerbating. The natural question is:

Are we trying to resolve them in the right way? Neither calls for abstract friendship when feelings are already running high, nor threats, nor even the use of force—as we have repeatedly seen for ourselves—produce the desired result.

We know that we need above all an accurate diagnosis. But we have, just like before, tackled the consequences rather than the deep-seated causes of conflicts which have continued to exist undisturbed. I am profoundly convinced that our plenum should fundamentally change the party's nationalities policy on the basis of Leninist principles. The peoples expect clear answers to the fundamental questions about the new content of the federation, the practical value [prakticheskoye nasyshcheniye] of the republic's sovereignty, and the Leninist content in the self-determination of nations. The strengthening of our union and the fate of perestroyka depend on this above all.

At the plenum we cannot restrict ourselves to half-hearted semi-restructuring decisions and take them into the Second Congress of the Soviets, since the party's authority would then be irreparably damaged and real events would pass us by.

Latterly, for a number of reasons, processes in the Soviet Baltic republics have become an argument sometimes in favor of perestroyka but often against it. What is actually happening in our republic, specifically in Estonia?

I will be blunt: What is happening in Estonia was largely preprogrammed by the well-known events of 50 years ago. That is why full historical truth about the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and events in 1940 must be restored without fail. This is a question of political trust in the Estonian Communist Party. Then we will be able to explain to our people the seriousness of certain social and demographic deformations, departmental diktat, and the lag behind neighboring countries' living standards. Glasnost and democracy often raise these questions in our republic in a nationalities context too. We should bear this in mind. It polarizes our society both in appraisal of the recent past and as regards future development.

The radical changes in nationalities policy have invariably highlighted radical positions—both nationalist and chauvinist. Despite their seeming opposition, both extremes are in surprising solidarity when it comes to their conservatism and fierce attacks on Estonian Communist Party Central Committee policy. And, if there is any difference between them, it is only that nationalist conservatism makes no secret of the fact that it is prepared to take the republic back 50 years by returning it to the bourgeois system. While chauvinism, hiding behind pseudorevolutionary phraseology, is not averse to taking us back 40 years, to a Stalinist type of barrack socialism. The biggest mistake today is to see the danger only on one flank and to combat it from positions at the other extreme.

We are convinced that the Estonian Communist Party, relying on society's healthy political core and having its own action program, is capable of neutralizing extremism, providing constructive leadership for perestroyka, and continuing the radical renewal of our life. But on one condition—that the people are well aware that perestroyka began in Moscow, was begun by the party, and can only be successfully continued at local level with the support of the party Central Committee.

From the very outset the Estonian people have ardently welcomed perestroyka, seeing it as a real opportunity to improve their lives and bring about national rebirth. I would like to state quite definitely—and this was shown by our recent party plenum—that we see our further progress only in close consolidation with perestroyka forces throughout the country. A sovereign Estonia in a renewed federation of Soviet peoples—that is our goal.

We share the CPSU Central Committee's concern expressed in the statement on the situation in the Baltic, the actions of certain separatist forces there, and the destabilization of the political situation. But, since we are talking about party trust, it would probably be better if we, the leaders of the Baltic republics, had taken part in compiling this document.

When this is followed by a certain wave in the central press and on the TV creating a negative stereotype of Estonia, this can only polarize attitudes still further, it cannot promote the consolidation of forces in the struggle for perestroyka's sake. We have a proverb: "People's own eyes are king." People should always visit, look around, understand, sympathize, and sometimes even have the patience to listen to what someone else is saying.

The recent meeting at the CPSU Central Committee between the leaders of the three Baltic republics and M.S. Gorbachev was constructive and trusting in just this way. We found an understanding of our problems and actions, frankly stated our positions, and listened to fair criticism of our shortcomings and failings. Discussions in our party home should always be comradely and principled in this fashion. Threats, irritation, and mistrust are culled from yesterday's arsenal.

In order to further build a rule-of-law state we can in no way avoid the most important question of the role of nations in Soviet society's life. For the first time in many decades we have started talking openly about the burning problems of interethnic relations, and so many tangled knots have come to light that, instead of solving them, some people would like to slam the door shut again and return to the former idyll of outward well-being. But there is no turning back any more. The fundamental restructuring of national relations is the only possible way toward mutual respect and mutual understanding among the peoples. This is clearly and plainly stated in the CPSU platform.

We must build the kind of union that no one would ever dream of leaving. Then there would be no question of

separatism. It is our common duty to make a country in which all the peoples—big and small—have a good life and in which each people has a secure home, a comfortable life, and an orderly system, which that people would itself safeguard, as the rightful master. That is why are advocating the sovereignty of the republic and cannot imagine our future without it.

We must also think about those seemingly ordinary things. If the USSR is sometimes portrayed in the old-fashioned way as a common home, in which each people has its own little room or corner, it is actually an unattractive image of communal life. Our new Soviet homes must be erected on a new foundation, with very large windows, open to all.

The nation is the fundamental form of mankind's existence, with its roots in the distant past and foreseeable future, and ethnic culture, which has taken centuries to shape, absorbing the experience of generations, is the foundation of general human values. It is the nations and peoples, not the amorphous human mass, that are the entities of history. The destruction of their integrity leads inevitably to the decline of morality, to the deformation of culture, neglect of the everyday environment, ecological anomalies, and, finally, to stagnation.

Progress, if it were to be measured only in terms of production indicators, loses its meaning. Today it is no longer possible to develop the economy normally, in isolation from national culture. Hence our shared concern to ensure that the centuries-old experience of each people is preserved without fail in their historical motherland.

Hence the need for a differentiated approach to each nation and recognition of the many forms of development. As a result of the prolonged extensive development of the country's economy enormous masses of people have been torn away from their birthplaces. This was largely a senseless and destructive process that continues sometimes even now. As a result we have deserted villages and enormous, overpopulated cities. Around 60 million people have ended up outside their national republics, not to mention being separated from their birthplaces, which was bound to cause some tension.

In many regions of the country the critical level of migration, beyond which an undesirable destabilization of the traditional way of life occurs, has been significantly exceeded. In the space of one generation the proportion of Estonians in our republic has dropped from 92 to 60 percent and is continuing to fall. Can the nation remain indifferent to these processes, one asks oneself? How can one not share its anxiety for the future?

At the moment our main efforts are focused on the economy, on the switching to republican economic accountability and on establishing the new management mechanism.

Despite the considerable complications and the strikes at a number of enterprises, the republic's industry as a whole fulfilled the deliveries plan by 99.5 percent. Rural working people gathered a grain harvest which is good for our conditions—over 30 quintals per hectare. Livestock purchases increased by 4 percent against last year, and annual milk yield per cow is forecast at about 4,100 kg. In brief, the republic is hard at work and is ready to take on from the new year, as planned, full responsibility for the development of the national economic complex.

For the economic accountability mechanism to operate effectively, our relations with union organs must be placed on a clear footing from the outset in all that relates to the republic's property, the formation of its budget, contract relations with the center, and the transfer of the entire economic complex to republican control. It might appear that it has all been discussed in committees and commissions and the basic USSR Supreme Soviet decision has been taken, but, in some offices the whole discussion is having to start again. Time is passing.

Of course, some leaders in central organs also have a constructive attitude toward the talks. Positions are being aligned during the debate. But we are not satisfied with the pace at which issues are examined, and find incomprehensible the desire to backtrack in some regards, to reconcile the irreconcilable—economic accountability and administrative edict relations.

Indeed, the concept of our economic accountability is very radical, but we are convinced that its common principles are bound to be radical for the other regions of the country as well. Economic autonomy [samostoyatelnost] is now the only alternative for Estonia. The political background is too serious for us to be standing on ceremony. Perestroyka needs, above all, positive advances in the economy, and as soon as possible.

In conclusion, a few words about the CPSU Platform for the present plenum. People in our republic support its democratic thrust and its line of developing the sovereignty of the national republics. But let us be very careful and ensure that there is not a single milligram of repetition of past mistakes or unitary tendencies in this ultra-important document. Evidently, we still have to thoroughly try and test the thesis of strong republics and a strong Union and bring it to a mutually acceptable equilibrium.

I believe that the Estonian Communist Party theses on the present plenum will be a modest contribution to this. They were widely discussed in party organizations and have been clarified and amplified. In this document we perceive Estonia in the future as a sovereign republic in a renewed federation of Soviet peoples.

Draft Estonian Party Program Published

18001683 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 10 Sep 89 pp 2-4

[Draft Action Program of the Communist Party of Estonia; first four paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA introduction]

[Text] An action program of the CPE [Communist Party of Estonia] has been worked out as a result of many months of laborious work. Dozens of people—key scientists of the republic, party and economic leaders—have taken part in developing it. In their work, they have proceeded from the conviction that in order to solve our contemporary problems the CPE needs a program which will evaluate the situation which has emerged, determine the historical responsibility of the CPE for past distortions, and map out the main avenues for perestroyka in Estonia and the confines of independence of the CPE.

Time has shown that perestroyka cannot be implemented from the same blueprint everywhere. The future of the Soviet Union as a multinational state depends to a great degree on how the peculiarities of economic and political life in various union republics are going to be taken into account, as well as their ethnic, cultural, and democratic traditions and their specific historical and political context. In other words, only a quest for multivariant ways and the policy of perestroyka taking into account local conditions may bring about a success.

The decentralization of power relations and the replacement of unilateral command relations in effect to date by democracy presupposes the same direction of development inside the party. It is difficult to conceive of the development of Estonia in the direction of sovereignty unless the CPE expresses and translates into life the main interests and genuine power of the people, unless it is democratic both with regard to its goals and composition, and its structure.

Of course, the draft published today is not yet the final version of the action program. It is published on behalf of the working group of the CPE Central Committee. It should inaugurate an extensive discussion in which not only the communists but all the citizens of our republic are invited to participate. We hope that discussing it will lead to an extensive and businesslike political debate which will result in specific and realistic proposals for perfecting the action program rather than concentrate on looking for the provisions which are unacceptable for one group or another.

I. General Considerations

Perestroyka has brought to light sharply the political and economic contradictions of socialism in the Estonian society, and revealed their essence and extent.

The system of sociopolitical and economic relations imposed on Estonia, which has brought about a supercentralized society governed from the center by commands and instructions, has created a critical situation in Estonia.

The establishment of this political regime in Estonia was accompanied by direct coercion with regard to the Estonian nation, especially the peasantry and the intelligentsia. Natural mechanisms of social control which had evolved over centuries were replaced by the regime of coercion based on the punitive apparatus and fear which were "crowned" by the crimes of Stalin's regime against humanity. The natural foundation of the life of society—self-regulation in the family, social groups, and the nation—was replaced by the party-centralist administration of all social processes and communities. Many ethnic, social, and spiritual structures were either completely destroyed or forced into the margin of public life.

The excessive concentration of property in the hands of the state and the replacement of self-regulation in the economy by the command-and-pressure system subordinated to lopsided ideological notions and mercenary political goals entailed the alienation of the production of the means of production rather than a genuine socialization of property; they opened the door for the dominance of ministerial monopolistic practices as a distorted form of private interests and criminal squandering of labor and natural resources; they led to the chronic shortages of goods and competition among the consumers. At the same time, an unjust system of evaluating the results of labor and distributing the benefits asserted itself.

As a result of the extensive development which ignored local economic conditions a departmentally compartmentalized national economy with weak internal connections and imbalances developed in Estonia: its growth was primarily supported by the imports of machinery, raw materials, and labor to the republic. The bulk of the economy of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] was subordinated to the dictates of union ministries; in the process, enterprises reporting to the union formed a peculiar exterritorial system. Immigration meeting the needs of large enterprises for labor, their neglect for the development of the social sphere and protection of nature in the republic brought about a perceptible decline in the quality of life of the population of Estonia.

The preferential development of large cities, primarily Tallinn, Kokhtla-Yarve, and Narva, at the expense of rural areas and small towns has been a powerful factor hampering social progress for many decades.

A social stratum of non-Estonian population removed from its historical, socio-cultural, and ethnic roots emerged in Estonia within a short period of time due to the heavy influx of population. The old nihilistic

national, economic, and social policy seriously hampered the involvement of these people in the public life of Estonia.

The schism between the people employed in different economic sectors acquired ethnic overtones as social tensions mounted.

Being aware of their responsibility for the situation which has emerged in the republic, the communists of Estonia believe that they are duty-bound by their honor to lead the Estonian society out of the current profound economic and political crisis in cooperation with all progressive forces. The duty of the CPE is to facilitate the enhancement of the process of perestroyka in the country and to avert the steps which may hinder this by all the political means at its disposal.

Ensuring the state sovereignty of Estonia on the basis of the right of the Estonian people to self-determination, preserving the national and territorial integrity of Estonia, reorganizing the economic system, reforming the political system, preserving a healthy habitat for life, improving the well-being of the people, normalizing ethnic relations, ensuring the personal and social protection of every inhabitant of Estonia, and working out a model of socialism which takes into account the peculiarities of Estonia are the main issues of the policy of the CPE and the development of Estonia.

The CPE strives to ensure such a socialist social system under which genuine democracy and social justice prevail; the working man is the ultimate yardstick for all social needs, and economic prosperity is merely a means for ensuring the high quality of life of a separate individual and the entire society.

The humanization of progress, preserving the personal and social security of people is not a problem of Estonia alone. In view of the current, quite critical situation of civilization, the danger of a global catastrophe, the impossibility of the further isolated development of social structures, and the transformation of information into a means of production and capital, the continued existence of socialism itself and the entire world depends on overcoming the distortions of socialism.

II. Historical Experience of the Communist Party of Estonia

1. The peculiarities of the aspirations of Estonian communists in the course of revolutionary struggle in the beginning of this century were dictated by their affiliation with the RSDRP [Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party]. On the one hand, this bolstered the revolutionary forces and facilitated seizing power in October 1917, but, on the other hand, this brought about the domination of Leftist ideas among them on the issues of power, national and agrarian policy which did not take into account the will of a majority of the Estonian people; this ultimately brought about a substantial narrowing of the social base of the party. All of this was exacerbated by attempts to form the Labor Commune of the Estonian Land dependent on Soviet Russia. The failure to appreciate national sovereignty and independent statehood as a political value became fatal for it.

2. As Soviet Russia recognized the Estonian Republic in 1920, the Bolshevik organization of Estonia left the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] and formed an independent party, though it did not acquire genuine independence anyway. The policy of Joint Front of Toilers in early 1920 served to increase the influence of the CPE somewhat. However, the program planks of the CPE which were adopted, but not confirmed by the leading organs of the Communist International, once again reiterated a negative attitude toward the state independence of Estonia in general. The attempt at an armed takeover of power with the support of Soviet Russia made in 1924 also failed. As a result of its erroneous policy and repressions, the CPE was deprived of its base of support in Estonia for a long time. In the late 1930's, most members of the CPE fell victim to mass repressions in the Soviet Union. A certain pick-up in the activities of the CPE occurred only after the formation of the Joint Front with the Left socialists and an amnesty for political prisoners.

3. The subsequent situation of Estonia and its Communist Party was determined by the criminal division of the spheres of influence between the Stalinist Soviet Union and Hitlerite Germany in 1939. In the events which followed, the role assigned to the CPE was rather modest. Having voiced in April 1940 the slogan of establishing a people's-democratic regime, it nonetheless took part in the summer of that year in the coup planned by Zhdanov.

The annexation of the republic and the establishment of a pseudo-socialist totalitarian regime entailed the loss of independence by the CPE also in form: In October 1940, it was incorporated into the VKP(b) as a territorial organization. The Communist Party of Estonia on the whole turned into a tool of the centralizing policy and an obedient executor of the orders of the center. Post-war repressions against the segment of the national leadership of the CPE which advocated taking into account the peculiarities of Estonia in the course of socialist construction also were a factor. The repressions peaked after the 7th (1950) Plenum of the CPE Central Committee. This, however, does not relieve the CPE of the responsibility for implementing the Stalinist policy in the republic. At the same time, the role of communists in the anti-fascist struggle of the 1930's, in the Great Patriotic War, and in the post-war reconstruction of the national economy cannot be diminished.

4. In the late 1960's, the power apparatus suppressed the attempts of the younger generation of party members to democratize public life. In the 1970's and 1980's, the crisis of administrative socialism in Estonia became more pronounced. The economy and the standard of living were going downhill; migration assumed an unprecedented scope; the condition of the environment deteriorated sharply, and centralizing tendencies in the

life of society were reinforced. The absence of a policy for taking into account the needs of Estonia continued to widen the rift between the unprincipled and incompetent activities of the CPE leadership at the time which ignored local conditions and honest aspirations of the rank-and-file communists which brought about a profound crisis of confidence in the summer of 1988. However, even in the environment of alienation of the party from the people many honest and active people saw in the CPE the only real opportunity for participating in political life and attempted to aid the preservation and development of the Estonian nation and culture through it. It is due to them to a considerable degree that in contemporary Estonia spiritual and material prerequisites exist for a substantial renewal of public life. In the mass consciousness, the notion of the CPE as the organization which forcibly propagated distorted socialism in Estonia still survives. The party will only succeed in overcoming this stereotype through its genuine struggle for the democratization of public life and the republic sovereignty. A radical reorientation of the CPE policy in the direction of democratic socialism, political pluralism, and its own independence is necessary taking into account the lessons of history and with a view to avoiding the repetition of its past mistakes. This will help in building a real social and political base of the CPE, rallying to its cause the forces which are sincerely in favor of perestroyka, and creating prerequisites for a qualitative transformation of the Estonian society.

III. Development of the Political System

1. Centralization in our country has attained a level which slows down the development of the country. Any attempts to reinforce the integrity and unity of our society by reinforcing the centralizing tendencies will, contrary to expectations, weaken its unity. This path of development has completely exhausted its potential, and continuing on it will only preserve the temporary freedom of action for anti-perestroyka forces. This is why the present time requires that the new thinking also be extended to the mutual relations of union republics, as well as their relations with the center.

The consistent democratization of Soviet society is only possible in the event of guaranteed recognition of the right of nations to self-determination and of union republics to secession. The future development of Estonia should occur under the conditions of its sovereignty. The latter means that the Estonian SSR as represented by its supreme organs of power and administration and the executive and judicial organs holds the supreme authority in its territory, and only the bearer of sovereignty has a right to restrict it. The people are the bearer and the only source of sovereignty in Estonia; the legislative, executive-distributing, and judicial organs implement sovereignty as empowered by the people and under their control.

Estonia believes its union and federation treaties with other states and its obligations entailed by them to be sacred. Estonia has a right to leave any union or federation at all if belonging to them is going to contradict its state and national interests and sovereignty.

3. The purpose of democratizing the political system of Estonian society is in building a law-governed state and building the organs of state authority and local self-government elected and operating along democratic guidelines. The political system built is based on the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers, taking into account the peculiarities of Estonia (small territory and population making it possible to implement the principles of democracy more completely) and its political traditions, as well as the supremacy of the laws of the republic in the territory of the Estonian SSR. The political system of Estonian society is based on the plurality of the forms of property and corresponding plurality of the interests of various social groups, codified right of the person to independent choice and corresponding activities, plurality of opinions, glasnost and the freedom to choose and use information, personal liberty of people, freedom of religion and opinions, equality of all citizens before the law, their right to property, education, and profession.

3. The inter-republic administrative system is going to be built on the principle of self-regulation "from the bottom up" which will ensure the development of various regions in the interests and on the initiative of local inhabitants. The basic unit of the system will be reduced to the lowest level possible, and its exclusive jurisdiction in all issues not calling for coordination at the republic level will be ensured. Local administrative organs have their own budgets the revenue side of which is supported by the influx of appropriate taxes.

4. The irreversible nature of the democratization of public life is guaranteed by the organs of power which express the interests of various social strata and are elected in a democratic manner, as well as by public organizations and movements the activities of which do not run counter to the vital interests of the Estonian society. The CPE interprets the plurality of organizations and movements as a factor facilitating perestroyka and a prerequisite for democratic control and government. The CPE acknowledges the need for constructive opposition and its rehabilitating impact not only on our society as a whole, but on the party itself.

IV. Economic Policy

1. The economy of Estonia still is in a critical condition. The production and technical facilities are obsolete; many obsolete technologies which damage the environment are used. Despite binding the producers as the bearers of labor to the means of production, state property has failed to make them into people who manage production, genuine masters who have the decisive say on all issues of production and public life. Hence the widespread attitude toward the people as the means, as labor resources. The CPE strives to shift to an economy which is efficient and which meets the social needs,

which encourages the greatest industriousness possible on the part of all economic units, and ensures their independence and equal opportunity. This presupposes replacing the economy which is ruled from the center by orders and instructions by the one that is based on the plurality of property forms, goods-and-money relations, and the independence of producers. The socialist nature of such an economy is expressed in providing state social guarantees and establishing limitations which ensure social justice, the protection of consumer interests, and stable and humane environment.

2. The only way toward normalizing the economic life of Estonia lies through the IME, republic economic accountability based on the sovereignty of the Estonian SSR, and the integrity and relative isolation of its national economy. All the economic and social issues involving the republic are solved by the people of Estonia and the organs of power and administration which express their will. All economic units located in Estonia, regardless of their legal and economic affiliation, strictly comply with the laws of the Estonian SSR. The IME is based on a variety of property and organizational forms, whereas the state protects all forms of property and creates conditions for them to multiply material values and to compete among themselves. The CPE finds that it is expedient to either transform a majority of state enterprises into joint-stock companies or transfer them to the ownership of labor collectives. The land, mineral wealth, the air space over the territory of the republic, its inland and territorial waters, its continental shelf, forests, and other natural resources are the exclusive property of the people of Estonia.

3. The CPE believes balanced and regulated monetary, labor, and goods markets to be the foundation for a healthy and developing economy. The development of such markets presupposes putting monetary circulation in order and creating an independent financial system. At the same time, it is necessary to work out an efficient anti-inflationary program.

4. The CPE believes competition and cooperation among producers to be an extremely important prerequisite for normal economic operations and rejects the monopoly of producers and competition among consumers. The development of the economy of Estonia depends to a great degree on the skill of using the favorable geopolitical situation of the republic and finding a worthy niche for it in the economic relations between the East and the West, between union republics, in their expanding cooperation in production and technology.

5. The CPE believes that the economic activity of people picks up steam faster in small social communities (in rural areas, small towns, and so on), in individual and small-scale production where the hampering impact of the command economy has been and is felt the least. The administrative reform is a much-needed prerequisite for the IME. As a result of the tax and budget reforms, local budgets independent of the state budget will be created. The excessive emphasis on growth rates should be abandoned with a view to balancing the economy during the stage of transition.

6. The stability of agriculture is a guarantee of economic and social development. A reasonable transition to peasant farms in rural areas is also needed along with the development of large-scale production in rural areas. The CPE supports leased hamlets taking into account the fact that at all times the labor of the Estonian peasant has been the most productive on his own farm. The CPE considers expedient to codify the right to the eternal use of land in the Main Law of the Estonian SSR.

7. With a view to the rapid development of the spiritual potential, high technology, and research-intensive production, the share of expenditures for science in the national income should be increased substantially, and the integration of science and production needs to be promoted.

8. The economic renewal entails the need for cooperation between the CPE, the government of the republic, and all mass organizations and movements. Supporting the IME is the duty of every party organization, every communist. The party organizations should bring the style and methods of their work into compliance with new economic and political conditions.

V. Social Policy

1. The CPE considers the assertion of social justice in all spheres of social life—ensuring extensive opportunities for self-expression, self-improvement, and self-assertion for everyone, and a share of social wealth commensurate with their contribution and a dignified life for those who for some reason are incapable of asserting themselves socially—as well as shaping a healthy and safe environment to be the ultimate goal of social policy.

2. Leveling the social inequality which inevitably accompanies goods-and-money relations and maintaining social stability is one of the most significant goals of social policy. Hence the need to introduce an efficient system of taxation and a system for the reporting of incomes, adjust them continuously in keeping with the growth of prices and the commonly acknowledged subsistence minimum, create an efficient system for the retraining and redistribution of the labor force, mandatory social security in case of an illness, injury, and permanent or temporary disability. Creating extensive opportunities for the self-realization of an individual is the main device of social policy. To this end, all currently existing restrictions on labor activities should be canceled; flexible forms of labor should be used more extensively, and all citizens of the Estonian SSR should be guaranteed the right to work abroad.

3. The CPE comes out in favor of acknowledging migration and the depopulation of the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] to be an all-union problem, and considers it necessary to develop cooperation with adjacent republics

with a view to eliminating the negative consequences of these phenomena, as well as to create a migration service and establish an immigration quota.

4. The financing and implementation of social policy are distributed in an optimal manner between the state, districts, and townships which, proceeding from their own budget, determine the main avenues of this policy, as well as the confines of employment of the populace and the structure of social expenditures and aid. As a rule, main social benefits, such as education, health care, and others, should be provided to an individual free of charge.

5. The CPE holds the view that further development of the social sphere, industry, and agriculture should proceed from the natural conditions of the republic. Pollution of the natural environment should not exceed its capacity for self-regeneration. Reasonable and judicious use of the entire natural wealth of Estonia falls within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Estonian SSR as a sovereign state. All inhabitants of Estonia are guaranteed a healthy environment worthy of a human being.

6. With a view to forming an environment worthy of a human being and ensuring social justice, the policy of housing construction and apartment distribution needs to be changed profoundly. The purpose of this policy is to ensure the continuity and protection of the family hearth for the people. We need to shift to mainly low-density and single-family housing from erecting present-day nondescript urban microrayons.

7. Social policy, primarily in the sphere housing and labor employment, is called upon to ensure the protection of the family, motherhood, and childhood and facilitate overcoming the social alienation of young people. The Communist Party believes the plurality of youth movements and organizations based on differences in the social status, education, interests, and political views to be legitimate, and associates its future with all democratic youth associations which support the goals of its program.

The CPE strives to ensure the easing of military and political tensions and a reduction of military presence in the Baltic Sea area. It also comes out in favor of reducing the duration of military service, its humanization, social and legal protection for the servicemen, alternative forms of performing the military service duty by the young people who require this due to the condition of their health, by virtue of their religious beliefs, or due to other motives, and also acknowledges the formation of national-territorial military units to be expedient. The CPE believes that, at a minimum, it is necessary to give the young men of Estonia an opportunity to serve in the military in the Baltic Region.

8. The renewal of national education is aimed at creating a differentiated, democratic educational system which takes into account the talents and interests of both the children and the teachers. The national school which molds independently thinking persons with a clear-cut value system and direction is the key element in national education. The system of national education imparts to the students the collective memory of Estonia and the nation, guarantees the receipt of knowledge of the basics of science and culture and the contemporary production and information technology. Continuity and differentiation in education, its orientation toward the talents and personality of the student, and democratic management are the key principles of operation of the system.

9. In its cultural policy, the CPE sets the task of guaranteeing the freedom of creativity ruling out in the process any administrative interference in the cultural process. The role of the state in professional creative arts is restricted only to providing financial support for them.

10. Considering physical education and athletics to be a part of general culture, the CPE considers necessary to gear this sphere to developing the spiritual and physical health of the people rather than attaining high performance.

11. It is necessary to resolutely change the attitude toward the elderly and people with physical handicaps, to transform the habitat (housing, educational establishments, the service sphere, state offices, transportation, and so on) in such a manner that it would ensure full-value life for these people.

VI. Nationality Policy of the CPE

1. In its nationality policy, the CPE is guided by the principles of internationalism and the equality of peoples, the right of nations to self-determination. The objective of this policy is to ensure the preservation and free development of the indigenous nation of the republic, the Estonians, in their ethnic territory, guarantee their rights to all national minorities residing on the land of Estonia, and create in Estonia the environment of accord, loyalty, and mutual understanding between the peoples. The desire to radically improve the economic situation, carry on the reform of the political system, make the process of democratization irreversible, and the effort to avert an ecological catastrophe provide the foundation for rallying all the inhabitants of Estonia regardless of their nationality. With a view to the fruitful implementation of common interests, it is necessary to create a situation which rules out the causes of interethnic tension and mistrust. Only this may give us confidence in our own future and that of our children.

2. Ensuring the free development of the Estonian nation and its legal security is the way toward creating such a situation. CPE members respect Estonia as the native motherland of Estonians, historic traditions of the Estonian nation and its national symbols, the Estonian language and culture.

3. In Estonia, the free development of the language, culture, and education of all nationality groups must be guaranteed. Any nationality or racial inequality of people should be ruled out in Estonia. All people for whom Estonia is their motherland enjoy equal rights

here. The CPE considers the creation of genuine conditions for the integration of all non-Estonians into the Estonian cultural milieu and learning the Estonian language with a view to ensuring a maximum of social and psychological security to be a priority task.

4. Members of the CPE are called upon to combat all manifestations of nationality discord, primarily among the people of their own nationality. All calls to apply administrative measures in the nationality policy, as well as accusations leveled at a nation or ethnic group which contradict legal and moral norms, are incompatible with belonging to the CPE.

VII. Constituting the Communist Party of Estonia and Intra-Party Democracy

1. The policy of sovereignty of Estonia presupposes the restoration of the CPE as an independent political organization. The CPE is a component of the CPSU, however, not just in the capacity of its territorial organization but as an independent party of a sovereign union republic which participates in working out the overall political strategy of the CPSU on an equal footing with the communist parties of other union republics. All issues of party activities in the republic fall within the jurisdiction of the CPE; it is completely free to determine its structure and its composition and to use its funds. The CPE operates on the principle of self-capitalization, and has a separate budget; it determines the structure of its income itself, having substantially reduced the contribution of membership dues to it.

Independence of the CPE presupposes its protection both in the new CPSU code of party life and the CPE Statute.

2. In its political activities, the CPE is guided by the interests and political will of the main social forces of the republic, freely selecting the forms and methods of work for expressing and realizing them. Under the conditions of a democratic, law-governed state, it strives to ensure the broadest possible representation by the popular masses in the parliament and their participation in the government. Under such circumstances, the position of the CPE in our society is determined primarily by its fruitful political activities promoting social progress and its ability to rally various social groups and political forces into a majority supporting the strategic goals of the CPE rather than the privilege to appear as the monopoly spokesman for all interests guaranteed by the constitution. The Communist Party is prepared to give up government functions handing them over to the organs of people's power elected in a democratic manner.

3. With a view to democratizing its internal activities, the CPE considers various forms of pluralism of opinions and views, including intra-party discussions and the working out of intra-party platforms, to be natural. It is necessary to enhance substantially the independence of local party organizations in order to avoid the supercentralized management of them. With a view to developing intra-party democracy further and weakening the influence of the party apparatus, it is expedient to introduce in the party the post of the CPE chairman elected by the party congress.

4. The CPE supports the participation of its members in the mass organizations and movements whose goals and activities do not contradict the present program and the laws of the Estonian SSR. The CPE does not consider it necessary to regulate their activities in the mass organizations and movements in a detailed manner. The party ethic presupposes that the communists resolve intra-party contradictions and differences within the framework of democratic mechanisms, and do not carry them to mass organizations and movements.

5. Recognizing the present action program provides the basis for belonging to the CPE. Setting further goals of CPE activities will depend on the development of the political system of Estonian society, as well as the enhancement and consolidation of the processes of democratization in the USSR as a whole.

Consumer Ministry Abolished in Estonia

LD3009141589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] The republican consumer services ministry has been abolished in Estonia.

Of course the cafes and snack bars, the workshops and hairdressing salons are operating as before. The only thing is that each of these enterprises have been given the chance to organize their activities independently. The local soviets will become the coordinators of the services sphere.

Baltic Procession Staged in Moscow 28 Sep

LD3009161189 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 29 Sep 89

[From "The Way We Live" program]

[Text] In Moscow yesterday [28 September], a procession was staged by students of the Baltic republics devoted to the 50th anniversary of the secret protocols signed by Hitlerite Germany and the Stalinist Soviet Union, according to which the Lithuanian state fell to the sphere of influence of the USSR.

According to (Justas Verionus), a Lithuanian student who is currently studying at the Moscow Conservatory, about 100 people took part in the procession of mourning. The procession was not a political action. The participants visited all the three Baltic mission in Moscow, laid flowers, and lit three candles in front of each mission as a symbol of the three no-longer-existing states.

After the incorporation of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia into the Soviet Union in 1940, all the three states lost their real embassies, yet the missions of these republics have been functioning in the Soviet capital to this day.

Although the participants of this procession did not carry any flags or slogans, they were followed along the entire route by a special riot police unit armed with rubber clubs, tear gas, and plastic shields. However, as (Justas Verionus) informed us, there were no clashes. On the contrary, the militia officers helped the procession participants cross the road and even defended them from a group of hooligans who threw apples at them.

Republics Plan To Form Group of Deputies

LD2909134889 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] USSR Peoples' Deputies from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia plan to form a group of Baltic deputies. Roma Pakeniene, a Vilnius Radio journalist, reports: [passage omitted]

The vital interests of Lithuania have not yet been discussed at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. However, according to Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the deputies seemed to be well disposed toward us. This time, the Estonians and Latvians are also more resolute.

The issue of the Baltic republics is No 17 on the agenda. It is in the group classified as most important or first priority. There are 19 items on the agenda in all. I think everything is going to be fine, A.Brazauskas said.

Aside from this a delegation of specialists from the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance left for Moscow yesterday. They will take part in further preparation of the law on the economic independence of the Baltic republics. According to unofficial reports, Moscow has agreed to our conditions concerning our payment into the all-union budget. [passage omitted]

K.Uoka, the USSR Peoples' Deputy from Kaunas, declared that matters could turn to the advantage of the Baltic republics in a different aspect: the deputies are coming closer to the idea that all economic issues should be discussed comprehensively. Take the law on cooperation, for example. It cannot be separated from the law on property, and that, in its turn, cannot be separated from laws on taxation and the budget or the budget from the economic independence of the republics.

According to Deputy Kazimieras Uoka, these questions should be regrouped in the nearest future because even the deputies from Russia would like to discuss the economic independence of the Baltic republics first, because these are more radical. Other issues should be discussed only after this. He said: We shall try to use this opportunity, the more so because it is very beneficial to us. On the other hand, K.Uoka said he is somewhat disappointed with the first working days of the session. He expected that the interregional groups of deputies would be more active. As is known, this group consists of the most radically inclined deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet from various parts of the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, this group has suffered a defeat. Gorbachev dealt with the group perfectly well and I do not think, Kazimieras Uoka said that the situation there will change in the coming weeks.

When speaking about the defeat of the interregional group of deputies it seems that Kazimieras Uoka also had in mind the fact that they failed to get to the rostrum to read the appeal to the Supreme Soviet signed by 300 deputies which supported the position of the Baltic republics and which condemns the Central Committee statement about the situation in the Baltic republics.

A similar statement was brought to Moscow by the Lithuanian deputies. However, the decision was made to wait for some time, and when more signatures have been collected this statement will be handed over to Gorbachev next week. The statement will be made public using all available media.

In general, deputies from Lithuania and the Baltics were given a friendly but reserved reception in Moscow. It seems that the Sajudis people's action in sending the book "The USSR-Germany" to all the deputies has served its purpose. It was felt that the majority of deputies have read it and it looks as if all of them were a little bit guilty of not knowing the most basic facts from the history of their great motherland.

The Lithuanian deputies said that earlier the deputies were scared of our press but now they take it willingly and even ask for more.

And here is another very important matter: A coordinating meeting of all deputies from the Baltic republics taking part in the USSR Supreme Soviet session was held Monday in Moscow. They worked out the joint program and platform as well as the strategy to be adopted when vital issues affecting the Baltic republics are discussed. A group of lawyers representing all the republics has been set up to formulate a joint document.

It is planned that when all the USSR People's Deputies from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia meet in Riga Saturday, an interregional group of Baltic deputies will be formed. This is explained by the fact that deputies from these countries [regionas] cannot join the existing interregional group because of the particular interests of the Baltic republics. However, the Baltic group will not strive for dissociation; on the contrary, they will work for broad cooperation both with the deputies from Russia and from the other republics. The possibilities for such cooperation will be discussed Saturday in Riga. Representatives from Georgia, Moldavia, Armenia, and other republics have recently become especially interested in close relations with the Baltic republics.

Group's Main Goal Drafting 'Joint Platform'

AU0110162589 Paris AFP in English 1603 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 1 (AFP)—Some 50 deputies have formed a pro-independence Baltic parliamentary group that will lobby the Supreme Soviet and Congress of People's Deputies on behalf of all three Baltic republics, a Lithuanian deputy said Sunday.

The Baltic Parliamentary Group is inviting all deputies to join who "recognize our struggle for self-determination going as far as separation from the Soviet Union", Kazimieras Motieka, a Lithuanian member of the Supreme Soviet, or parliament, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Its main goal will be to draft a "joint platform" for Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia on issues discussed in both federal bodies, he said.

Deputies decided to set up the group at a meeting in the Latvian capital Riga on Saturday [30 September], he said.

The Baltic Republics together have about 150 members in the 2,250-seat Congress of People's Deputies and some 40 deputies in the 542-seat parliament whose members are chosen from the Congress.

Researcher on Draft Estonian Ethnic Rights Law

LD2009210589 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 89

[From the "Echo of the Day" program]

[Text] At Kadriorg in Tallinn, the permanent nationality-relations commission of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet met, with Toomas Leito, its chairman, chairing its work. A draft law on Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic citizens' ethnic rights was completed. For us, Lembit Karri went to see:

[Begin recording] [Karri] (Aksel Kitt) is a senior researcher at the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law. Those people who have worked with this law straight from its birth—today it is the fifth meeting—how great is the work behind the law?

[(Kitt)] First, one can say that we were able to use the draft law adopted in Lithuania—it has been put out to public debate in Lithuania, and we used the law which was adopted at the time of the Republic of Estonia, in 1925, on the cultural rights of the minorities. In 50 years a great deal has changed, but up to now there has not been in existence in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic a law on the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic citizens' ethnic rights. The draft law is indeed devoted to the rights of Estonians, as the indigenous population, and of all ethnic groups who reside in Estonia: Political, cultural as well as economic rights.

[Karri] What does it mainly regulate?

[(Kitt)] The present draft law encompasses the right of the Estonians as the indigenous population to their ethnic territory and to self-determination. A right of this kind exists only for Estonians. [words indistinct] who live in Estonia, in our opinion have the right to a culturally autonomous existence, and all the [word indistinct] articles are indeed concerned with the cultural and educational self-determination, first and foremost, if one can say so; for other ethnic groups. All the same, it is considerably broader. It contains a right to establishing ethnic-cultural associations. There have been about 30 ethnic-cultural associations created in Estonia. But up until now their rights have not been fixed in legislation. (?Hence the great importance of this law.)

[Karri] And what course will the law take now?

[(Kitt)] In the course of a few weeks it will be presented to the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and from there put out out to public discussion. [end recording]

Travel Restrictions Eased for U.S. Diplomats

LD2909194989 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—The Soviet Government has given U.S. diplomats more freedom of travel across the Soviet Union. The U.S. Administration has recently made a similar move with regard to Soviet diplomats working in the United States.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry official described the U.S. decision as a "positive phenomenon reflecting the normalisation of bilateral relations," and said it was prompted by more openness in Soviet society.

Igor Khalevinsky, deputy head of the ministry's consular department, told TASS that the Soviet Union in August unilaterally allowed U.S. senior diplomats to make trips across open regions in the country, using any kind of transport and without advance notification.

New thinking has changed the work of the Soviet consular service, which earlier was complicated by numerous instructions based on the concept of "total hostile encirclement" of the Soviet Union, Khalevinsky said. Now these stereotypes are being destroyed.

The Soviet Interior Ministry is striving to bring Soviet laws on human contacts into line with the country's international commitments.

The ministry's visa and registration department has already drafted rules for foreigners in the Soviet Union. Under the rules, citizens of socialist countries would be given the right to free travel across Soviet territory open for foreigners, while citizens of other countries would be allowed free travel within the constituent or autonomous republic or region, on the territory of which they are registered.

Khalevinsky expressed hope that "this process will be further developed. We seek to create normal conditions

for foreigners in the Soviet Union and want them to know our country and people better."

Asked whether the new rules apply to journalists, the Soviet Foreign Ministry official said that the latter should so far abide by the former advance notification rules, adding that "of course, headway should be made in this respect, too, but this requires efforts on both sides."

Provisions for Moscow Financial Autonomy Approved

LD1509190989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] The course of preparing Moscow for the introduction of financial autonomy relations and the development of self-administration was discussed today at an enlarged sitting of the bureau of the city party committee. The leaders of the party and soviet bodies of the capital and its rayons took part in the sitting which was chaired by Comrade Zaykov. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the leaders of a number of central ministries and departments were also invited. In the course of a businesslike and interested discussion, the main stages in the transfer of the city to financial autonomy relations were outlined, and the proposals about legislative consolidation of the status of Moscow as capital of the USSR and the Russian Federation were examined. Generally, the draft main provisions for the introduction of financial autonomy and the development of self-administration were approved. After refinement, it has been decided to present the document for broad discussion by the people of the capital. A detailed report about the sitting will be published in the newspapers.

Ligachev Activities at Osh Conference Reported

PM2709150589 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 p 2

[KIRTAG report: "Using Advanced Experience for the People's Benefit"]

[Excerpts] As already reported, an interrepublican seminar-conference continued its work in Osh Oblast 8 September. The seminar-conference was devoted to organizational work by party, soviet, and economic organs of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan to enhance the efficiency with which the production and economic potential of the agro-industrial complex is used and create suitable conditions for the work and everyday life of its workers in the light of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum.

Participants in the seminar-conference visited the food-wrapping shop of the Osh Oblast Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives interrayon center. [Passage omitted]

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed the enormous importance of developing the packing industry. Unfortunately, our country has not yet paid due attention to this, although quite good resolutions have been adopted.

Ye.K. Ligachev illustrated his train of thought with specific figures. Whereas in 1980 industry dispached 23 percent of loose goods to the trade network wrapped, the figure for 1988 was only 28 percent. We are essentially marking time, while abroad 80-90 percent of goods are wrapped, and, what's more, the customer is offered the product in different weights—100, 200, and 500 or more grams. You can see any product in attractive wrapping in any overseas store.

What we have seen here at the center, Ye.K. Ligachev went on, is, of course, laudable, it does, after all, mark a step forward, but I should refrain from praise. To be honest, everything is still being done on the level of some 18th-century manufactory, the labor is basically manual and little mechanized.

Yet the organization of such packing shops deserves attention and every support because it is better to wrap goods at centers than in stores. I would like leaders to show genuine interest in this work, particularly as we will now be manufacturing more specialized equipment and automated production lines. Orders have already been placed with defense sector and aviation industry enterprises. It is also necessary to organize fruit and vegetable packing—we will then be able to make good progress.

"In general, Comrades," Ye.K. Ligachev said, "the sale of finished output constitutes the weakest spot in our Food Program. The losses are very large and, if we want to reduce them we must set about solving the problems of storing and packing food products in earnest."

The participants in the seminar-conference continued exchanging experience on the territory of the interrayon center. [Passage omitted]

Ye.K. Ligachev enquired about the links between Osh Oblast and the oblasts of neighboring republics, how socialist competition between the cities of Osh and Andizhan is faring, and what this type of labor competition gives each of the partners. [Passage omitted]

Ye.K. Ligachev asked R. Natalchenko, secretary of the interrayon center Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] organization, to come to the microphone.

"Tell us how the young people here live and work and what you think about the situation in the Komsomol?"

"We get on well," Raisa Natalchenko said.

"We help the peasants during their busy time and take part in hay procurement and cotton harvesting. Our young people enjoy spending their spare time constructing houses and other facilities. We know that no one will do this for us and that we need to work hard if we want a better life.

"Komsomol members spend their leisure in interesting ways—gatherings around the campfire, meetings with veterans and distinguished people of the oblast, amateur performance, and sports competitions."

"I can see that you live a worthwhile life," Ye.K. Ligachev observed with pleasure. "That is splendid, yet at the last Komsomol Central Committee plenum everyone spoke about crisis phenomena in the primary Komsomol organizations. But here ordinary Komsomol work goes on and there is no mention at all of crisis. I do not, of course, wish to say that everything in life runs smoothly. No, difficulties and clashes do occur, no society can develop without them. But this has clearly so frightened some people that suddenly talk everywhere is of crisis in the Komsomol."

"There is no crisis, Yegor Kuzmich," said G.B. Geldyyeva, first secretary of the Turkmen Komsomol Central Committee, pitching into the conversation. "But young people in the countryside do need to be supported. After all, new forms—leasing and the family contract—are now being introduced. In some places young people are withdrawing from public activities. We have pretty good traditions here too—work and recreation camps, Komsomol youth teams, and links composed of school pupils. What if they were to be lost amid today's innovations?"

N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, also expressed his opinion on the problem under discussion. In many places little attention is paid to training the rising generation for work. Sometimes we actually shield the rising generation from useful work. Even tomato picking is regarded as virtual exploitation of child labor. Of course it is necessary to make sure that work on plantations does no harm as, for example, in the cultivation and picking of tobacco, but in principle youngsters should accustom themselves to action rather than words. A real citizen can only be formed by real labor."

Ye.K. Ligachev: "The Komsomol is our young people, and we are proud of what they have been able to do. But there are people in our country who want to denigrate this glorious history and regard it only from a negative standpoint. Many people talk nowadays about the so-called era of stagnation. But did we really stagnate, Comrades? We built socialism during those years. And what were the people engaged in doing? Just that. Komsomol leaders today must therefore think about the youth movement's future rather than talk about crisis and must offer it a really great cause. Supplying our people with food surely presents a vigorous field of activity for young people and Komsomol members, does it not?

"I want to tell young people: Create, act, and work! There are fine opportunities—and the future of our plans is to be decided in the labor collectives."

This interesting discussion on the place of young people in the country's public life and their role in tackling important aspects of the Food Program was continued at the collective farm [kolkhoz] named for Frunze, in Kara-Suyskiy Rayon, actually in the "Gulkayyr" Komsomol youth team's field camp. [passage omitted]

Ye.K. Ligachev drew attention to the fact that the team has its own subsidiary farm and its own cattle. Such an addition to working people's food supply was very necessary, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed. In general we should make better use of all additional sources of livestock products without, of course, forgetting public-sector production.

"The concrete example provided by this Komsomol youth team is convincing evidence for us that there is no crisis in the Komsomol," Ye.K. Ligachev said. "And the Komsomol, which has, together with the party, put great efforts into strengthening the country, should not be demeaned.

"I want to tell you frankly that if we could organize 10,000-20,000 such Komsomol youth teams, we would solve the meat and milk supply problem." The CPSU Central Committee secretary expressed his great pleasure on learning about the "Gulkayyr" team's deeds and wished the young girls health and happiness.

B. Azizov, chairman of the kolkhoz named for Frunze, informed the participants in the seminar-conference about the sports complex that has recently been commissioned. The complex, composed of two metal modules, was erected by the kolkhoz Komsomol youth team itself. More than 500 kolkhoz members now belong to sports sections.

The successes achieved in the kolkhoz' socioeconomic development are due in large part to the fact that proper concern for people is shown here. The kolkhoz has on its territory 6 secondary schools and 1 8-year school, where more than 4,500 pupils study. There is a 50-bed hospital, a maternity hospital, an outpatient clinic, and 4 midwifery stations. People have two culture centers, a rural club, three teahouses, and three bathhouses available to them. The workers of the kolhoz named for Frunze have decided to construct another three teahouses, using their own labor.

Ye.K. Ligachev noted that it is essential to pursue everywhere a social policy whose direct results people personally feel. It is essential that it be linked to the results of their labor. What needs to be fostered in every working person is the desire to provide a good life and potential prosperity through their own work rather than freeloading and the habit of taking everything from the state.

Ye.K. Ligachev expressed the same idea at a meeting with kolkhoz members actually held in a village street. We should all think more about one another, help one another, and remember that each republic's economy forms part of the country's overall national economic complex. And while Kirghizia supplies other regions with meat products, wool, and industrial semimanufactures, certain consumer goods, various kinds of equipment, machines, and construction materials are shipped into Kirghizia. We must all concern ourselves with

strengthening the country's economy and common interests rather than cutting ourselves off in our own national enclaves, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed. [Passage omitted]

A final plenary session chaired by I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, was held at the Osh Oblast Political Education House. [Passage omitted]

The seminar-conference was also addressed by Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The interrepublican seminar-conference concluded its work at this point.

Gusev, Others Censured Over Goods Shortages

PM2809132389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee"]

[Text] On the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee examined the question of the party responsibility of a number of Communists in leadership positions in USSR Council of Ministers permanent organs, ministries, and departments who are to blame for serious disruptions in the production of goods in daily demand and for the unsatisfactory supply of these goods to the population.

It is well known that many goods are no longer freely on sale, primarily soap, washing powders, toothpaste, razor blades, school exercise books and pencils, and galvanic cells and batteries. A number of types of clothing and footwear and timber and construction materials are in short supply. According to statistics, 243 out of 276 cultural, everyday, and household articles are either only irregularly available or not on sale at all. Working people are rightly expressing dissatisfaction with the prevailing situation.

A check established that certain Communists in leadership positions in the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Chemical Industry and Timber Complex, the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab], and a number of ministries and departments have failed to overcome the leftover principle in planning and financing the production of essential nonfood goods. The economic reform is being implemented only slowly, and labor collectives have an inadequate material interest in the development and renewal of consumer goods production. Unsatisfied demand for nonfood goods is largely the consequence of the backward infrastructure and production technology and of outdated forms of labor organization and remuneration at the enterprises manufacturing this output.

Other factors have also had an effect. For example, V.K. Gusev, CPSU member, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Chemical Industry and Timber Complex, failed to organize the fulfillment of state targets for the production of consumer goods. The implementation of decisions is poorly monitored, and exactingness toward leaders of subordinate sectors has declined. V.K. Gusev was reprimanded for his errors and for failing to take proper measures to ensure the supply of goods in daily demand to the population.

V.P. Lakhtin, CPSU member and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, inadequately monitors the production and delivery of consumer goods. He failed to institute effective monitoring of the fulfillment of adopted decisions and to display the due principledness in appraising indiscipline among sector and enterprise leaders. The elaboration of new economic methods is proceeding only slowly, and inadequate attention is paid to forecasting the development prospects of consumer goods production. V.P. Lakhtin was reprimanded for failing to take prompt measures to boost deliveries of essential goods and satisfy the population's demand.

CPSU member Yu.A. Bespalov was severely reprimanded for failing, during his time as USSR minister of the chemical industry, to ensure fulfillment of party and government resolutions on increasing the production of essential goods and for the disruptions in synthetic detergent deliveries by sector enterprises.

V.I. Reshetilov, CPSU member and minister for construction in the northern and western regions of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], was warned in respect of the systematic failure to commission production capacities for the manufacture of consumer goods.

Party penalties were also imposed on CPSU Members V.Ye. Popov, USSR deputy minister of the chemical and petroleum refining industry, and V.N. Shcherbak, RSFSR minister and deputy chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee [Gosagroprom]. Stern warnings were issued to CPSU Members A.P. Bochkov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gossnab, and A.D. Chepik, USSR deputy minister of trade.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee took note of assurances by Comrades Gusev, Lakhtin, Reshetilov, and other Communists in leadership positions that they will implement immediate measures to further boost the production of goods in daily demand, improve the consumer market, and enhance cadres' responsibility for the fulfillment of state targets.

Party committees in the apparatus of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gossnab, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry, the Ministry for Construction in Northern and Western Regions of the RSFSR, and the RSFSR Gosagroprom

were instructed to examine the question of the responsibility of other Communists to blame for the failures to meet state targets for the production and deliveries of goods in daily demand.

Railways Fail To Meet Target; Strikes Faulted

LD2909155489 Moscow World Service in English 1000 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] The Soviet railways failed to meet their planned targets this year by 40 million tons due to work stoppages and strikes. The figure was revealed at a parliamentary committee hearing in Moscow. Deputy Railways Minister Fadeyev told committee members railways, which are the principle cargo movers in this country, are already operating above their capacity leaving no margin for any further increase. This causes up to 12 billion rubles in losses for the national economy annually. Our airline routes flight delays have become endemic due to chronic shortages of kerosene. Last year national carrier Aeroflot failed to meet passenger demands of 17 million people. Parliamentary deputies were told the figure could rise almost by a third unless fuel shortages were removed.

Railways Minister Interviewed

LD3009094989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian in the "Vremya" program at 1800 GMT on 29 September carries a follow-up to a recent "Vremya" report on the shortage of railroad ties on the Penza stretch of the Kuybyshev railway. Correspondent G. Sedov introduces a recorded interview with USSR Railways Minister Nikolay Semenovich Konarev, in the traffic communications department. Sedov says that Konarev has just completed a review of the work of all the railways and thus knows the very latest situation.

Konarev agrees with the correspondent that the situation in Penza is typical for all the railways of the country. There are virtually no new railroad ties, no new railway tracks, and no new railcars. Konarev sharply criticizes Gosplan, saying that it should realize that railways need ties and track: "After all, we are talking not just about comfort; we are talking about safety, about people's lives. We are talking about freight arriving intact," Konarev says. This issue affects the entire national economy.

The correspondent says that by coincidence "Vremya" had shown in the same program an item about the railways system in France. He says: "In connection with this, how can one reckon on the implementation of the idea about which much is being said now? I mean the construction of a fast mainline, an ultra-fast mainline between the Center and the South." Konarev says: "From a technical viewpoint, the construction of high-speed railways in the Soviet Union is not a problem. Our country is made for high-speed trains and for high-speed railways. After all, for example, it is possible to build a high-speed railway from Moscow to Tashkent, and we will travel there in 10 hours. Just imagine: Moscow to Central Asia in 10 hours. The task has to be set. This should be state policy. But in our country, unfortunately, things have worked out in such a way that transport issues have not been registered in a position of priority in the Long-Term Program up to the year 2000." And this is without mentioning that just 21 km of new lines in the Soviet Union have been included in the plan for 1990, Konarev says.

The correspondent expresses surprise at this low figure. Konarev confirms that it is true.

The correspondent asks what is being done to help the railway workers of the Penza stretch of the Kuybyshev railway. Konarev says that the Ministry of Railways must also accept some responsibility for the situation there. He has written to the workers in Penza and the necessary materials are being dispatched.

Baykal-Amur Train Line Open

LD0110003189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Here I have put to one side for the end of the bulletin a note, information from the BAM [Baykal-Amur trunk line]. Finally, after 15 years of waiting and difficult labor, the thoroughfare of trains is opening on the whole length of the BAM from Ust Kut to the Lena. The line is being put into permanent use. [passage omitted]

I cannot fail to mention the alarming situation in which the new-born main line has gotten into. At the moment Gosplan and the country's government are discussing a decision on cutting state allocations on the further development of the BAM. The danger is imminent that the enormous construction collective will simply find itself jobless. It is much more difficult to set up a collective again than to continue work there. [passage indistinct].

Subway Workers Form Strike Committee

PM2009145689 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 38, 17 Sep 89 p 14

[Aleksandr Abramov report: "Nobody Wants a Strike"]

[Text] Representatives of the Moscow, Kharkov and Minsk metros recently set up a strike committee—not for purposes of going on strike, but in order to make urgent demands advanced long ago by work collectives.

The working conditions of metro employees have long been a subject of serious discontent. On September 4, a strike committee was elected at a meeting of the initiative group where train conductors from Moscow's Vykhino depot were particularly active. The strike committee established the workers' demands and tried to negotiate with the administration.

"But no real dialogue took place," says Vyacheslav Burobin, chairman of the strike committee, a train conductor for 20 years. "They keep saying that there aren't funds enough to raise wages, that it is impossible for objective reasons to meet other demands concerning social problems. We believe that metro workers' current situation is intolerable. Working underground in three shifts pays worse than many aboveground railway jobs. We think it is high time to resolve the matter of earlier retirement for those dealing with the underground train traffic and of paying overtime. Is it possible to work three shifts and have only three days off in a month, as often happens with our metro drivers?

"Worker representatives said they could suggest ways of coming up with the necessary funds given the metro's internal reserves. But one of the administrators snapped: 'Of course, you'll suggest cutting the managerial staff...' The conflict has still not been settled and the next session of the strike committee will discuss the expediency of a preventive one-hour strike."

Nikolay Konarev, USSR Minister of Railways, told MN [Moscow News]:

"I know that in some work collectives demands concerning the social problems of railway workers are being made. But I know nothing of any officially registered strike committee. If a group of workers has concrete claims, if they want to meet me, this can be arranged at any time. My door is always open and recently I have met with dozens of representatives of work collectives. I'm ready to receive metro workers, too. I think that strike is not our word...".

So, it is clear today that neither the representatives of work collectives nor the administration, right up to its top members, want a strike. Hope remains that the necessary dialogue will lead to mutual understanding.

Conference Prepares for New Trade Union

LD3009220689 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—The conference, held in the National Trade Union headquarters in Moscow today, elected an organizing committee to prepare a constitutional congress of a new trade union that will unite workers of cooperatives specialising in science and engineering.

Chairman of the organising committee Dmitriy Yakovlev told TASS that most extensive rights and powers would be vested in the primary trade-union organisations of individual cooperatives.

They will supervise trade union budget and insurance fund spending. Cumbersome intermediary links will be removed from the structure of trade union organizations to facilitate links between superior and primary sections. Decisions taken by the supreme body—the Congress of Trade Unions of Scientific and Engineering Cooperative Workers—will not be binding on, but only advisory to prevent organizations.

The new trade union will promote close links with Soviet and foreign trade unions, Yakovlev noted.

Baklanov Addresses Leningrad Workers

LD3009021489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Leningrad, has visited a number of the city's enterprises.

[S. Dukhavin] [Video shows Baklanov at dairy, surrounded by officials and workers] Dairy combine No 5 is the youngest of its kind in the city on the Neva. The first output was produced a year ago, and half of the design capacity has been reached in the time which has elapsed. Comrade Baklanov familiarized himself with the production processes and conversed with the workers and specialists in the workshops. The conversation touched upon, inter alia, assistance on the part of the enterprises of the arms complex. People at the combine have already assessed on merit the results of conversion. Several production lines which were prepared at the enterprises of Votkinsk and Rybinsk have been received here. But there still is plenty of obsolescent equipment also in the workshops which needs modernisation.

[Begin recording] [Baklanov] [Video shows Baklanov addressing workers and officials in workshop] Well, let us agree as follows. All the same, you have laid very significant groundwork here. The collective in the workshops is very good, and your output is needed. Let us do the following, somehow. I understand things as follows: That is, everyone's desire coincides as far as launching all this quickly is concerned. We have the capacities. We will attach any works to you, you understand. That is so. I understand that you must tell us in what way you need to be assisted. In what way do you need to be assisted?

[Unidentified official] So that you yourselves know what you want. [end recording]

[Dukhavin] It is worthy of note that, when it reaches project capacity, the combine will supply almost one third of the inhabitants of the city on the Neva with various dairy production, and conversion, as you have already learned, will assist in that.

Visits Enterprises

LD3009020689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Leningrad enterprises of defense branches of industry, a part of whose capacity is being released to produce consumer goods, are being called upon to play

an important role in satisfying the domestic market. On 28 and 29 September Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, familiarized himself with the way in which the work of converting the city's plants and associations is organized. He also took part in the work of itinerant colleges of the defense ministries. Ways of increasing production of amateur and professional cinecameras, medical instruments and apparatus, and participation in solving the food problem were studied. Conversations took place with workers and specialists.

In the Smolnyy [Leningrad Communist Party headquarters] Comrade Baklanov met with secretaries of party organizations and leaders of associations and scientific research institutes and design bureaux of the defense complex. The problems of partial conversion were discussed. The judgements of Leningrad communists were heard on the position in the party and the country. In his concluding speech the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee gave detailed answers to questions.

Concern at Leningrad Public Order Status Cited

PM1509151989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Giving Priority to Public Opinion"]

[Text] The extraordinary session of Leningrad City Soviet once again showed the rapid steps in the democratization of social life, Leningraders' high political activeness, and their concern for their city's present and future. The city's inhabitants sent in many suggestions, observations, and additions to the draft resolutions being discussed by the deputies. And this determined the sharpness of the discussion.

One of the first questions the session tackled was the problem of city residents' participation in solving important questions of urban development. Many people are worried by the fact that a great city with a "provincial destiny" is falling into decay, the rate of development of the utilities infrastructure and housing construction is lagging, and proper order is lacking in the streets and squares. The deputies decreed that not a single important construction project or reconstruction of an architectural monument, or the laying of any new highways, will begin without prior approval from the organs of self-administration, citizens' neighborhood meetings, and sessions of rayon and city soviets.

The future of Leningrad and perestroyka as a whole is often affected by the now traditional rallies of various groups and organizations, including informal ones. The deputies determined the places where meetings, street processions, and demonstrations may be held. The point being that under pluralism of opinions and freedom of discussion public order should also be strictly observed, and the honor and dignity of the city should not be discredited.

V.V. Gidaspov, first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee, took part in the work of the session.

Official Interviewed on Cooperatives

PM1809085389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

["Topical Interview" with Yu. Khachaturov, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers state commission for economic reform's cooperatives sector, by "our correspondent" A. Golovenko: "Cooperatives: Removing the Scum:" first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction, final paragraph is PRAVDA comment; date and place of interview not stated]

[Text] "Dear comrades! How long will speculation flourish in our country under the guise of the cooperative movement? Did you hear the people's groans from the swindles of the new Soviet businessmen at the Congress and the Supreme Soviet session? Surely it cannot be that no one heard them and that everything, as used to be the case, will disappear into the sand?" It was with this letter to the editorial office from Muscovite V. Sarafannikova that our correspondent began his talk with Yu. Khachaturov, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers state commission for economic reform's cooperatives sector.

[Khachaturov] I can reassure V. Sarafannikova and other PRAVDA readers that criticism from the public will not disappear into the sand. Draft amendments to the law "on cooperatives in the USSR" has just been prepared and will be presented to deputies for discussion at the USSR Supreme Soviet session which begins 25 September.

[Golovenko] The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions plenum which has just ended expressed itself unusually sharply against mediating and trading and buying cooperatives, demanding that the activity of those which are engaging in speculation be halted. Will the trade unions' opinion be considered?

[Khachaturov] It will, but let's remember that far from all cooperatives engage in speculation. We shall not confuse the cooperatives and the pseudocooperatives. While the former are of benefit, the latter are merely parasites on other people's labor. Of course, this cannot fail to make the population indignant. But look at the following figures, for instance. In 1987 there were 14,000 cooperatives and they produced goods and services worth R250 million. Last year there were 77,500 cooperatives which produced an increment of R6 billion. And in the first half of this year 133,000 cooperatives have already produced over R13 billions worth.

How can we fail to support those who themselves raise and process agricultural output, construct or repair, produce goods for children, or take part in the solution of local social issues? For instance, the Zelenograd "Rodnichok" scientific research cooperative was awarded an honorary certificate for its voluntary contribution to the solution of the rayon's social problems.

[Golovenko] Yet the press is full of reports of the escapades of all kinds of machinators...

[Khachaturov] We must resolutely rid ourselves of such people. The "Elektrostatika" cooperative, which had engaged in activity which had nothing to do with the commerce proclaimed in its charter, was closed down in Novgorod recently. The local businessmen were headed by a man who had served a prison term for especially large-scale swindling.

[Golovenko] I should note that he headed the cooperative in contravention of article 12 of the law on cooperatives.

[Khachaturov] Absolutely correct. It is unhealthy elements, penetrating the cooperatives, which often compromise the movement.

[Golovenko] Let's talk about what fundamentally new elements the amendments you suggest involve.

[Khachaturov] The new elements consist in particular in the fact that the role of the local soviets is increasing drastically. Today the executive committee must, virtually at first demand, so to speak, register the cooperative's charter and essentially is not free to influence the direction of its activity. It is proposed that the relevant deputies' commission should give a cooperative a passport into life. Let the deputies decide what types of cooperatives the population in their region needs most.

[Golovenko] And as for closing down...

[Khachaturov] We believe that the executive committee should receive the right to this after the conclusion of the deputies' commission and the demands of deputies, labor collectives, trade union organizations, and consumers' societies.

[Golovenko] I should like to know in what cases?

[Khachaturov] If, despite warnings, a cooperative continues to violate legislation or, for instance, buys goods, in, I should stress, the state trade network, and resells them at speculative prices, markets goods of poor quality, or in general inflates prices without justification. It is easy to understand that these measures are a public control and make it clear that cooperatives are for people, not the other way around.

[Golovenko] We would be insincere if we failed to mention that many distortions in the new sector of the economy have been generated by inadequate supply. It has frequently been written that the new commercial dealers get raw and semifinished materials and equipment for bribes...

[Khachaturov] Indeed, supply is a very painful question. The amendments stipulate that state organizations assume concern for supplying cooperatives with resources, for instance, those cooperative which will fulfill state orders, that is produce goods and services necessary to society and take part in the fulfillment of various social programs. The cooperatives which sell their output at state rates must of course receive the right to purchase raw and semifinished materials at the same prices as state enterprises.

[Golovenko] Anxiety can be heard in the press over the cooperatives' extraction of enormous sums from money circulation. For instance, according to the figures of the Moscow City Trade Unions Council, in the first 7 months of this year over R1.5 billion was removed from Moscow's banks while less than R60 million was returned. That is no joking matter...

[Khachaturov] The question is not as simple as it seems. I think that some people would like to place the blame for our economy's troubles on all cooperatives. The half-empty shelves in the stores of the capital and other cities—are they not the reason for the reduced treasury revenue? We are proposing to change the procedure for cooperatives' accounts with state sector clients. There should be a basically noncash form—that will make it possible to close the channel through which cooperatives turn the cashless money of enterprises and organizations into cash.

[Golovenko] Yuriy Nikolayevich, do you think that the amendments to the law will reduce abuses in the cooperatives? Will they be able to remove that scum?

[Khachaturov] It is probably impossible to avoid misinterpretations. But the unbiased reader will understand that the point of the changes which have been elaborated in no way attests to the desire to "close down" the cooperatives. Incidentally, the draft has also been supported by People's Deputy V. Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Union of Associated Cooperatives and member of the All-Union V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Today the cooperatives must be protected, as the supporters of the new movement request, from... the cooperative members themselves. Particularly from those who are seeking at any price to "make a mint," those in whom the passion for profit is above all goals which the cooperative sector is called on to resolve. We believe that the proposed amendments will help this purging process.

Social Policy Department's Commentary

Not as much as a year has passed before the law on cooperatives in the USSR, sometimes called "the most characteristic of perestroyka," has required substantial changes. In our view this has happened because during its elaboration scant consideration was taken of public opinion, the critical items in the press, and economists' warnings. In many places the cooperative movement has been reduced to yet another campaign. As a result legalized speculation and superprofits have appeared and with them administrative and criminal racketeering and a rise in crime which, of course, is causing righteous indignation among the population. Today a complete stock taking of the cooperative sector is needed during

which the right to life should be given only to everything that is healthy and promising and accords with people's interests and requirements.

New Kazakh Deputy Premier, Official Appointed

LD1909090689 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium has issued a decree appointing Kumusdzhan Sagyndik-kizi Omirbayeva as deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.

The Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has issued a decree appointing Vasiliy Vasiliyevich Shvets as first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR State Agroindustrial Committee and minister of the Kazakh SSR. [passage omitted]

The Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Asanbayev from his duties as deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers in connection with this transfer to other work.

The Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade (Kharibdzhanov) from his duties as first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR State Agroindustrial Committee in connection with his transfer to other work.

Tajik Youth Problems Discussed

PM2909112589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Problems of Young People Are the Center of Attention"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 25 Sep—The resolution of acute social problems at a critical period in the development of Soviet society is impracticable without considering the interests of all strata of the population, particularly young people. This idea was voiced several times at today's joint plenum of the Tajik Communist Party and the Tajik Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee in Dushanbe, which discussed the tasks of the republic's party and Komsomol organizations to boost the role of young people in perestroyka and the democratizatioon of public life.

The speakers, K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, and A. Yakubov, first secretary of the republic's Komsomol Central Committee, and other participants in the plenum spoke with concern about the poor standard of living and the fact that 1 in 10 young people are not employed in the sphere of social production: More than 130,000 are neither working nor studying anywhere. It was emphasized that the republic's government and local soviets must take radical steps to create additional jobs. Primarily in those sectors which produce consumer goods and food. The leaders of sectoral ministries and departments—light industry, machine building, and the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Committee for Construction—which are experiencing a shortage of workers and cadres despite a surplus in the republic but are doing little to remedy the situation were subjected to trenchant criticism.

The participants in the plenum stressed that the Komsomol must revise outmoded forms of work with young people, preclude criteria of gross numbers in swelling its ranks, devote more attention to their qualitative increase, and secure full representation for Komsomol members and young people in soviet, state, and public bodies.

The plenum supported the proposal made by the republic's Komsomol Central Committee to create a Committee for the Affairs of Young People under the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet.

A joint resolution was adopted on the question under discussion.

Demonstration Protests Tatar Nuclear Construction

LD3009102289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Near Kazan University today, a public protest march started in the autonomous republic against the construction of the Tatar nuclear power station [Tat AES]. An extremely paradoxical situation has taken shape around the Tat AES. Despite the conclusions of a whole series of authoritative commissions and scientists, who recognize that the choice of a site for the station is highly unfortunate and may lead to a disaster; despite public protests; and in spite of the firm, well-defined position of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic's leadership, the Ministry of Atomic Power is continuing to build the Tat AES. The route of the protest march will go through the towns of Naberezhnyye Chelny and Nizhnekamsk. Protest meetings will take place today and tomorrow, attended by the broad public here and also in Kamskiye Polyany, the settlement of the power construction workers.

Internal Affairs Deputy Minister on Recent Crime

LD1809201189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1750 GMT on 18 September carries a V. Bakarinov interview with L.G. Sizov, first deputy minister of internal affairs, on crimes committed last week.

Sizov states that more than 42,000 crimes are registered throughout the Soviet Union every week. Two fifths of last week's crimes have been solved, the remaining ones are under investigation. He adds: "Approximately a half of robberies with violence and thefts from flats are down to recidivists." People who have been released from prisons find it hard to find work or housing and have welfare problems, he says, adding that it would be desirable to have a law to cover this area—the GDR's

example, where there is such a law, shows that it is desirable. "Complications affecting not merely the area of finding work, but also the area of housing and welfare could not but have this effect: that more than a third of them embark again upon the road of crime and commit crimes within a year following their release. The figure is up to a half in the Lithuanian Republic, Tambov, Smolensk, Amur oblasts." He says that recidivists find it easier to find work in cooperatives where there are less forms—and these are less probing—to fill in.

"Last week alone juveniles committed more than 4,000 crimes," he continues. Youth organizations must be more active to combat this, along with schools and parents. "In our country up to 65 per cent of all serious crimes committed every week are perpetrated in a state of drug or alcohol-induced intoxication. This year more than two tonnes of drugs have been confiscated from illegal circulation; more than five tonnes of raw materials from which drugs are produced have also been confiscated," Sizov goes on. "It has to be said that crimes connected with the illegal circulation of drugs have become particularly widespread in certain Central Asian republics. Work that has been done has made it possible to make hundreds of people criminally liable; people whose criminal activities are connected with the transportation and marketing of drugs. Practice shows that criminals transport drugs from a number of oblasts of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, and a number of RSFSR oblasts."

Sisov notes that large forces of the militia and internal troops are involved in maintaining public order and this cannot but have an effect in weakening the struggle against crime. He reveals that criminals fired at a village near Shusha in Nagorno-Karabakh several days ago, but thanks to the decisive operation of internal troops two criminals were rendered harmless. These criminals put up a fierce resistance and threw a homemade explosive device at the troops—but civilians were saved.

Sisov also says that the authorities are often perplexed at the critical tone of the press with reagrd to the operations of those who stand guard over law and order as this makes their difficult work even harder. Asked whether the law and order protection agencies are able to oppose the criminal forces effectively, he merely notes that order must be restored and that it is up to "us all" to fight crime.

Lysenko Discounts Possibility of Gorbachev Ouster

PM2909133989 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Ye. Lysenko, deputy leader of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Institute for Improving the Skills of Cadres, under the rubric "Frank Discussion: The Party Today. How Should It Look?": "Whom Does Confrontation Suit?"—first paragraph is MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] Various opinions can be found among the responses to the article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. Mikhaylov entitled "Is October 1964 Possible Today?" (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA for 18 August). We call your attention to the following polemical observations.

The article is undoubtedly topical, readable, explosive, timely, and socially necessary. Nowadays everyone writes what they think (but, as in former times, not everyone manages to get published). I, too, will take the liberty of entering into polemics. I hope that the editor will publish these lines since he had the courage to print the original reflections.

Let us begin in the right order. I think that the author's historical digression into our recent past and the evaluation of the socioeconomic and political roots of N.S. Khrushchev's removal were successful. The only thing that is dubious is the transfer of that concrete historical period to the current situation, or rather the method of superimposing it on the current situation.

I think that October 1964 should not recur today. I base this on the convincing arguments in the article, the current situation, and also my personal experience of life and general social experience, a constituent part of which are the events experienced during those years, including the events in Novocherkassk in 1962. I agree with N. Mikhaylov that, given the present great politicization of the masses, the people will not allow such coups to happen.

I only want to state my opinion on one question which particularly invites argument in the article. It concerns the second symptom of the crisis situation—the crisis in the "upper echelons" (those in power). I recall, N. Mikhaylov notes, that above all this is the crisis which the party is experiencing today and it is manifested on three levels. The first is connected with the substantial decline in the party's authority, the second with the ubiquitous distrust among the population and Communists toward the party apparatus. The third (I quote word for word) "is the growing confrontation between the party apparatus locally and the central party organs." Probably the third level sums up the first two or reveals the essence of the second symptom. But, strange as it may seem, this is the essence of the second part of the article—the less successful part, the poorly argued part.

The thesis of a confrontation between the "grass roots" and the "upper echelons" is not new. It was bandied particularly actively by some people's deputies at the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies (ostensibly in defense of M.S. Gorbachev). But whose interests are they expressing and what was the aim of raising this question? What was the aim of the author of the article? The interests of the people's masses, cadre party workers, or, as N. Mikhaylov expresses it, the "leftists" and the "rightists"? Or perhaps in the interests of his own political popularity?

But let us think, does opposition (conflict) exist between the ideological-political principles of grassroots party components and the Party Central Committee? That is, does the confrontation in question exist?

The party (and its foundation is primary party organizations) was the initiator of perestroyka and has assumed the greatest responsibility for the future of Great October, socialism, its own people, and the land of the Soviets. All party organizations, party committees, and the CPSU Central Committee have a common strategic line of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and renewing socialism, a line formulated at the 27th party congress and further developed at the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

This strategy arose on the basis of a deep and thorough analysis of the objective situation which has developed in the 1980's. The roots of this process were revealed to a significant degree at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and their consequences have turned out to be unforeseen and most tangible in the past 2 years.

It is well known that party and state institutes have spent a great deal of time on the theoretical elaboration of this course and the search for effective measures to implement reforms. And a great deal has been done. Apart from that, a breakthrough has been achieved in international relations and in the formulation of the new political thinking.

Members of the Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat participated actively in elaborating the strategy of perestroyka. A strategy was also developed for party work in the new conditions. The party began active perestroyka with itself, particularly in light of the debates and decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The guidelines worked out by the subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums were of enduring significance. They are universally known. But why is the idea of a confrontation between the "grass roots" and the "center" being created? Or maybe we are thinking in past stereotypes and do not permit even the thought of criticism of the leading organs, the party leaders, or the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, describing this criticism as confrontation?

It is well known that in the process of perestroyka, the party, first, had to restructure itself along the way and, second, had to fulfill a vanguard role (I believe not just a vanguard role, but also a leading one) in perestroyka. Incidentally, V.I. Lenin never excluded the party anywhere as the leading force in society. But without achieving qualitative changes in itself, it could not successfully fulfill its vanguard role. I think that the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, and the Central Committee secretaries, when participating in the elaboration of the strategy of perestroyka (including perestroyka of the party), underestimated the importance of practical work in the party itself, and the flexibility of tactics, which changed hourly in all spheres of sociopolitical life. The cadre question was particularly acute. Let us be sincere—there were no real changes here. [passage omitted]

At the same time, the CPSU Central Committee's own style of work has not changed. It is dragging a train of old principles behind it: Decisions have been made, instructions issued—act on them! Vague decisions adopted by CPSU Central Committee plenums could not produce positive results in these conditions. [passage omitted]

The times urgently require that a CPSU Central Committee Plenum devoted to the present state of the party and to increasing its vanguard role in society and in implementing perestroyka be prepared and held. Such a plenum would, to a significant degree, enrich the preparations for the next scheduled (I repeat, scheduled) congress, the 28th CPSU Congress.

In my view, the proposal of many party workers on the preparation of a comprehensive CPSU Central Committee "Cadres" program deserves particular attention as well.

So can such criticism really be seen as confrontation? Moreover, it would be significantly more effective if the center listened to the "grass roots" and heard what they were saying. Then the whole party and the cause it serves—perestroyka—would win.

And a few words about the so-called "firm" hand. It is naive when the mass media and even party leaders' speeches refer to this as a demand to return to Stalinism and everything connected with it. It is not out of the question that such a category of people exists. However, the sources of this desire for order among many of our contemporaries are connected with the unruliness, mismanagement, and lack of social protection stemming from the low standard of state (contractual), production, labor, technological, and social discipline and from the flouting of elementary laws and standards of social life and order and interethnic relations. These negative phenomena became apparent in conditions of democratization and glasnost. But this is a process and it must be guided. Otherwise, this type of democratization leads to anarchy and chaos. Yet many central organs, including the CPSU Central Committee and its Secretariat, are continuing to be passive onlookers, to gloss things over, and to use delaying tactics and half-measures, thus aggravating many situations. What are we afraid of?! Demagogues shouting about violations of democracy? Democracy and perestroyka will be worth something only if they can defend themselves.

October 1964 will not recur if the CPSU Central Committee itself engages in strengthening the party ranks, finally mobilizes the party by organizational and ideological methods to work with the broad masses of working people, and actively uses their politicization for purposes of creation, instead of destruction and opposition. I believe in such sense among the "upper echelons"!

Nina Andreyeva on 'Ideological Battle'

LD2609090589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2020 GMT 25 Sep 89

[From the "Panorama" program: interview with USSR "world-famous spokeswoman for conservative forces" Nina Andreyeva by unidentified interviewer in Leningrad—recorded; date not given; Andreyeva and other Russian speakers in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation; no video available]

[Excerpts] [Interviewer] Nina Andreyeva, the world-famous spokeswoman for conservative forces, wages her battle in Soviet domestic politics. The teacher sometimes has letters published in various newspapers. Last March, under the title "I Cannot Renounce My Principles", SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carried a lengthy article by her, which is considered to be a kind of conservative proclamation. [passage omitted] Andreyeva, who lives in Leningrad and is a lecturer in chemistry at the technical university, proudly shoulders her conservative views now, too. "Panorama" correspondents called on her at her apartment. At first we enquired whether it was true that Yegor Ligachev, the renowned party leader, really had anything to do with the publication of the article. [passage omitted]

[Andreyeva] As it was later recounted to me, the text of the article was studied by Ligachev himself, who at the time was in charge of the Soviet press.

[Interviewer] So Ligachev was involved. But let's leave this issue, and talk about something else. The stormiest, most heated debate still goes on concerning Stalin. Now, it is said that he had 20 or 40 million honest people murdered. Let's not argue, right now, about how many million there were, but tell me, do you consider it inconceivable that Russia might have been made a superpower at the cost of fewer sacrifices?

[Andreyeva] Well, look. Let us try to approach the question from a somewhat greater distance. What is the essence of my article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA; the backbone of the article is the extremely sharp ideological battle which has developed in our society in the period of perestroyka and also the two trends that have surfaced—they are the trend of socialist development and the trend of capitalist restoration, which opposes this. My article went on to state the Marxist-Leninist principles. What are these? I mentioned, as an example, an outstanding state and party leader, such as Stalin was.

[Interviewer] Thus, you reject the 20th party congress, at which Stalin was subjected to very tough criticism?

[Andreyeva] Inasmuch as I am acquainted with the material of the 20th Congress, there was no criticism of Stalin. There, judgement was passed officially only concerning the personality cult.

[Interviewer] Come on! Much more was at issue! That Stalin turned the party's leading role in to eastern despotism, Asian despotism, that millions of communists and noncommunists were executed without reason. And what was at issue was that they criticized the total distortion of communist principles. You, however, state that communist principles of this type must not be renounced. In your view, to what extent did Stalin serve those principles?

[Andreyeva] Do you know what the essence of the matter is? History is de facto, a phenomenon that has occurred.

[Interviewer] History cannot be changed, but it can be assessed.

[Andreyeva] Our history, naturally, has devloped in a complex manner, many negative phenomena have also occurred. But what is happening now, that all in our history which can be viewed as positive is erased and forgotten, is, in my view, regrettable.

[Interviewer] The counter-argument could be raised that Stalin murdered far more true communists than all the counterrevolutionary organizations put together.

[Andreyeva] You know, that again is a characteristic slip. In our country, very many people who supposedly were hurt by Stalin, as they put it, appear in our mass media. However, the question of whether Stalin knew of this ought to be examined. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] Words can be heard to the effect that the currently operating unofficial organizations should be banned and that their mouths should be stopped. What is your opinion on this?

[Andreyeva] Look, it always has been the case—as it is now and as it will be in the future—that a state, a social order is worth something only if it is able to defend itself and the ideals it professes. Our state is a socialist state; therefore, all that happens in the interest of our socialist society is aimed at improving the living conditions of the working people—something which we must absolutely support in our society. There is no place in our society for other kinds of viewpoints, standpoints, appeals.

In my view, in the future the de-ideologization which is now taking place ought to be halted. The mass media means should be allowed to function only in the interest of the socialist state. And the proclamation of nationalist tendencies, which, unfortunately, we read about incessantly in the newspapers and which we constantly see on the television screens, must be prevented.

[Interviewer] Do you mean this must be prevented through censorship?

[Andreyeva] Yes, naturally, there must be censorship.

[Interviewer] I shall now list some names, and ask you briefly to characterize these names.

[Andreyeva] Go ahead.

[Interviewer] Academician Sahkarov.

[Andreyeva] I judge him as the patriarch, the leader of the right wing trends in our society; if we analyze his statements made in the seventies we can see that they are not socialist principles which he proclaims as his own. For this reason, we can say that he is the patriarch, the forefather of these nonsocialist trends, which now can be found in perestroyka.

[Interviewer] Boris Yelstin.

[Voice of Yeltsin] We are building socialism. Thus, one of the most important conditions of this is social justice.

[Andreyeva] Boris Yeltsin? My opinion is that the platform he represents must be viewed as one that is not socialist. He is nothing other than an adventurist, a demagogue, [word indistinct] and (?gutter)-politician.

[Interviewer] I shall give another name—Yegor Ligachev.

[Voice of Ligachev] Certain people or groups, try, by instigation, scare-mongering, arousing doubts, to exacerbate the situation.

[Andreyeva] I have heard several speeches by Yegor Ligachev, and on the basis of this I can say that he is a Marxist. He impresses me.

[Interviewer] We have reached a description of Mikhail Gorbachev.

[Andreyeva] I think that he is one of those leaders who try to sit between two stools. In the course of history, no one has ever succeeded in doing this, and he is not likely to succeed in this. I believe that he himself senses this. Yet, I can trace a tendency that so far he is being led along solely by the group which tries to drive us onto the road of capitalist restoration. That is clear. He was the leader, the father of the slogans such as glasnost and so-called democracy, on whose bases we find ourselves facing rampant nationalism in several regions of the country. If these trends further develop, this naturally will lead to complete collapse.

Social Scientist Assesses Socialist 'Crisis'

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[Editorial Report] Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU on 29 September on page 5, under the headline "Lenin Does not Help—Even Conservatives Have Recognized That," publishes a 3,000-word interview with Ukrainian-born social scientist Yuriy Levada, who, "during the thaw of the Krushchev era 30 years ago, tried to newly assess Marxist ideology and the Soviet past together with other scientists." In 1988 he was appointed director of the newly founded "All-Union Center for Opinion Research on Social and Economic Issues."

Asked whether socialism has failed, he points out that the crisis is visible everywhere: in society, in the economy, and in the party. There seems to be no quick solution to the problems. "Maybe there will be a greater transparency concerning the opposing forces in the Soviet Union," he points out. He also stresses the positive role of the new parliament in this connection.

Levada then elaborates on the declining strength and significance of the CPSU, which will ultimately allow "the emergence of forces that advocate a different kind of policy." Now that the old ideological tradition has been weakened, he spots a "deep moral and intellectual crisis in society, a lack of orientation. The old traditions in the spirit of Lenin and Stalin have lost their influence, and liberal and religious views have not yet spread among the population. This has resulted in a general lack of orientation," Levada stresses. Asked about the prospects concerning developments in his country, he emphasizes that the Soviet Union should develop into a "normal human society, such as exists in Europe." This would involve a democratic system that would "sooner or later lead to a multiparty system."

Further on 'Iron Fist' Leadership

18001668 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 38, 20 Sep 89 p 10

[Article by Leonid Batkin: "The Dead Seize the Living"; written in response to the dialogue of I. Klyamkin and A. Migranyan "Is the 'Iron Fist' Needed?" published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on 16 August 1989]

[Text]

I.

So, a dictatorship once again, once again in the name of a better future, and once again...in keeping with scientific canons? Explanations have been given on the strict basis of facts and logic proceeding from history and political science. This cannot fail to take us aback!

In general, the scholars Igor Klyamkin and Andranik Migranyan like democracy no less than its most ardent proponents such as you, my reader, or, say, me, as the ultimate objective, as an ideal. However, what is a possible mechanism of transition to a truly organic, effective, stable democracy which, in turn, is inconceivable without property rights taken away from the state, competition of the producers of goods in a free market regulated through tax, credit, and investment policies?.. Meanwhile, "we are starting from zero." This is exactly it. In the opinion of the authors, the inevitably long and difficult transitional stage can be carried out only through a transfer, either by "the people" (Igor Klyamkin) or the apparatus (Andranik Migranyan), of emergency powers to a "leader-reformer," "naturally suspending for a period of time the operation of all other institutes of power" (Andranik Migranyan). Only such a dictator is capable of seeing perestroyka through to the end. He will dismantle the backward and hopeless party and state structures tempered in the furnace of Stalinism; he will reign in the rampant meetings and strikes which lead to nothing good. An enlightened personal

dictatorship will ensure a field for new economic forms, for working out civilized customs of coexistence.

In general, this is how it goes: Since a certain level of civilization is necessary in order to create democracy, why should we not begin by attaining, in an authoritative-dictatorial fashion, prerequisites for this certain level, and later rush to catch up with other nations on the basis of state paternalism and the civilized market which will have developed due to it? This is the concept...

Calm down, I am telling myself, calm down. Both authors, whom I know, are most likable and educated people and not at all authoritarian but quite the opposite, bashful. However, they appear in a significant role of political specialists, **experts**, and there is nothing else to do but determine the diagnosis and prescribe the necessary remedy. After all, we do not get angry with the physician if the diagnosis turns out to be severe, and the medicine bitter, with unpleasant side effects.

What does it matter what **we** (?) want, and some do not want. It is most important to weigh what a realistic start-up mechanism of democracy in a country such as ours could be, how a possible process of transitions runs, and how to muster the energy it needs. The temperamental Migranyan states without second thoughts: "Yes, at this time I am in favor of a dictatorship, of a dictator. However, personified dictatorship is better than the so-called 'collective leadership.'" According to Migranyan, this leadership by the conservative partocracy is still better than the civil disturbance and chaos caused by the enraged and democratically uneducated "masses bursting into politics with their interests." However, the quiet and likable I. Klyamkin admits that the inexorable conclusions which he draws as a theoretician run counter to his own principles as a person. A dictatorship is legitimate, and yet..."becoming one with this regime? But I do not want to become one with any dictator, even if he has become so for the benefit of democracy. I want to have a right to defend my democratic opinion."

It looks ever so depressing! However, it is as frank as can be, and it is courageous.

II.

It seems, however, that not much courage is required to offer the mandate of a dictator to the mightiest person in the party and the state, who is endowed with tremendous legal powers to begin with (Andranik Migranyan) or declare that this is objectively unavoidable (Igor Klyamkin). This is not at all so. First, when such a statement is accompanied by the reluctance "to become one" or demands that the democratic minority at the congress "distance itself from Gorbachev" (Andranik Migranyan) more definitively and resolutely, this is far from servility in any form. Besides, Gorbachev does not intend to become a dictator, and such straightforward logic creates an awkward situation; the authors assail his thesis on the expansion of the rule of the people as the decisive condition for perestroyka in the economy. Second, the official liberals who will not by any means "distance themselves," but are "becoming one" to the best of their ability will hardly like this reasoning. Third, taking issue with the "reformist nucleus" in the apparatus, the authors propose to smash in an instant all current structures of power, suggesting to install in their stead "the Committee for National Salvation" (Andranik Migranyan). Fourth, being hostile to nomenklatura, Klyamkin and Migranyan also challenge by their political science reasoning the awakened masses, and not only the populist sentiment (which presupposes a quite **different** "iron fist" for **different** purposes) but also all those who have fought against the oppression by the apparatus, have felt for the first time their democratic dignity and, in many instances, after winning the elections, also their strength. Fifth, the theses of political scientists will definitely not make happy the national patriots who blend nazi ideas with loyalist "socialist" phraseology in their demagoguery. Sixth, the authors of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA know very well how, putting it mildly, unpopular "authoritarian" ideas are in their own community of intellectuals, how shocking they are even to friends...and this is more difficult psychologically than anything else.

We are dealing with truly courageous people who have built "a model" which does not satisfy anyone, and even infuriates all—both the right and the left, both the leaders and the mob. However...these acquaintances of mine have read a great many books in English and have become convinced that a free economy and, at some later date, democracy as well will not be attained without a "charismatic" dictator (that is, one who is just "believed," and the imperious emanations of his personality are obeyed). You see, this is what science suggests. This is why my hat is off—no irony intended—to the intellectual courage of the people who are capable of voicing their convictions in desperate isolation if they have to. Socrates drank the hemlock peacefully because he knew he was right rather than the Athenians. However, Socrates was indeed right. This is a very essential circumstance. May God keep my opponents healthy. Certainly, it will not come to hemlock and weeping students. However, the study is not solid, and therefore, atrocious.

The first thing which leaps at you: There are **no** such adequately influential social strata in our country who would have a vested interest in the authoritarian model and are ready to provide mass support for the "leader." That is, not for the leader in general, but exactly for the one conceived by Migranyan and Klyamkin, the anti-apparatus one, the one gravitating toward a market economy, toward the West, but who is also severe in an Eastern manner (or in the manner of a general), a kind of progressive and tolerant party monarch. The model is not congruent with the balance of forces and attitudes in our society, with the sociological and psychological shifts of last year, with our historically significant hardening against the idea of any dictatorship at all and the fear of rolling back to the still recent lack of freedom, which we

still have not forgotten or lived down, with the people's fronts, "informal groups," strike committees, and so on simmering.

"The model" challenges (just in passing) powerful movements for national and state sovereignty and radical decentralization, even with the framework of the USSR. The logic of authoritarianism means that the life of the unitary state has got to be extended. The Soviet peoples would not go along with a new dictator in Moscow, even the most progressive one; a majority of the Russian people are also sick of being the carrier and victim of the imperial idea. To begin with, it would be enough to ask just one question: How will the nations of the Baltic Area, the Ukraine, and Transcaucasia regard the "Committee for National (?) Salvation"—in order to find out that "the model" provokes the very disturbances which Igor Klyamkin and Andranik Migranyan would want to avoid.

Actually, the authors do not deny that it is just...theoretical dreams derived from anything at all, and supposedly from "the experience of the world," but not from a specific analysis of the highly dynamic situation in the USSR. I. Klyamkin says: "I think that the congress in principle could not have such an outcome (i.e., the handing of a dictatorial mandate to Gorbachev—Leonid Batkin). Neither the apparatchiks nor the democrats would have gone for it." (For the latter, it would have been not only "a betrayal of their own principles" but also **"an action against their electorate"**—emphasis added—note by Leonid Batkin). A. Migranyan echoes: "I've also been saying that the congress should not have been convened at all. It would been much better if our leader had assured reinforcing his power through the apparatus."

However, does the party apparatus, beginning with the Central Committee, want to and is it ready to give Gorbachev such a mandate? Is M.S. Gorbachev himself suitable for such a role? What does "it would have been much better" mean when uttered by a businesslike political science expert? In the event "it had been"—let us assume that it had been accomplished—then what would be by necessity the nature of behavior of the dictatorship **brought to life by the apparatus?...**

After all, as I understand it, a political scientist is first of all a specialist on the technology of power who gives utterly practical evaluations and recommendations. If the recommendations are in the nature of good wishes (alas, bad at the same time) their very impracticability in principle calls their competent nature into doubt—for the exact reason that not "just a certain moral orientation for our society, its ideal" (as Igor Klyamkin assesses the proposals by A.D. Sakharov) is at issue, but utterly practical "ways of transition."

III.

Therefore, thus far entirely within the confines of the logic of the authors, in some manner either "the people" (who do not want it) or the apparatus (which fears this) issue some demonstrative formal mandate to the reformist dictator. This is great! However, with the aid of which new institutions of power instead of those dissolved, of which legions of management personnel will Gorbachev (because realistically it is just him) be able to extend his will throughout the country from Brest to Kamchatka? If this is to be done with the help of renewed and strong soviets elected by the population freely and democratically from top to bottom, in the course of a dialogue with the people's fronts, independent trade unions (which, judging by the Kuzbass events, may appear in our country as well), with the support of the future majority in the parliament or, say, on the basis of direct elections of the Supreme Soviet and its chairman, then it is definitely not at all what the authors have in mind. Then it will be exactly the "idealistic" program of Sakharov. Then the leader will be subject to control by the voters. If it is going to be the same party apparatus, not at all disbanded but mobilized and restructured, then...what is really new in the political-science design of Igor Klyamkin and Andranik Migranyan? Strangely the authors skirt the main issue for their "mechanism of transition." Who is going to rule and how in every village, city, and rayon? The same "cadres," no matter how you reshuffle them, are appointed people. How are a million progressively minded, small, local, authoritarian bosses to be found? In NOVYY MIR, Migranyan answers: by destroying nomenklatura and "active involvement by the masses," by "an actual separation of party, legislative, executive, and judicial authorities" (No 7, p 178). Well first this is not complete authoritarianism, but rather hoping for a bit of pressure from below. Second, appeals of this kind are already found in party documents. Third, authoritarianism does not tolerate independent activities of the masses. Fourth, if we also add party authorities to the three kinds of authority, then nothing but scraps remains of the idea of classical separation of powers.

"A strong arm" may stop the country on its way to democracy; however, a dictator is powerless by definition to lead a country along this path, as well as to plant a free economy on vacant land. "A dictator is only strong when he has an army of blindly believing executors available": I find the political science of Nadezhda Yakovlevna Mandelshtam more convincing than that of Igor Klyamkin and Andranik Migranyan. She wrote: "The party is built like a church with its obedience to authority, but without God..." This era has come or is coming to an end, and now we will see....

History develops not from a political science "blueprint," but through the struggle of real forces. Democracy is born in torment, but it is born if there are democrats, if the forces mature which are prepared to defend it. They have just appeared, as if from under the ground surface, these green, still weak but hopeful shoots of our future. Now it is clear what the duty of the intelligentsia is. Even this first appearance of grassroots democratic forces comes as a surprise to political scientists who, while playing with theoretical bricks, have

written off the possibility of awakening the self-awareness of the tired and disillusioned "masses."

However, Igor Klyamkin intends to remain a dissenter and "criticize the leader from the left" even after the triumph of the "model" which he has developed. In turn, Andranik Migranyan (in NOVYY MIR) warns: Authoritarianism does not rule out "certain elements of the democratic regime," but "authoritarianism prescribes and specifies the limits of admissible dissent," "serious legal opposition is forbidden." Therefore, in what kind of opposition does our most likable Igor Moiseyevich intend to be—in the one which is not legal or the one which is not serious? Does he know the bounds within which his future thoughts are going to be allowed? And if yet another progressive dictatorship wins, is it not in our future to complete this argument during our encounter somewhere in a transit camp?

It is strange for me to hear perennial references to the proposal of Sakharov being politically impractical. Is it still not clear that he turned out to be prophetically right exactly in the practical, historical aspect? At present his consistently democratic, although altogether not immoderate or unrealistic position appears less practical than other positions only to a very superficial observer. It is exactly practical. You've got to embark right now on doing what cannot be accomplished today so that it will become possible to accomplish it the day after tomorrow. Proceeding from the contemporary reality of the world, Sakharov offers not only moral, but also political guidelines—this is it exactly—for the period of transition. Let us not console ourselves, my colleagues: "Authoritarian models" are hostile to such guidelines, both practical and moral. After all, our reasoning and polemics, all the more so if they are public, are also small pebbles which rub against each other in the course of history taking part in forming a historical will. All of us are responsible. You see, you can "nudge" the leader from the left only if you are indeed firmly on the left, without a split (moral-democratic and theoretical-authoritarian) personality.

IV.

You believe that totalitarianism in our country has not come to an end, that we are now forced to go through a transition to democracy directly from totalitarianism. In turn, I believe that even the Khrushchev and Brezhnev era amounts to something different from "pure" Stalinist totalitarianism. This is decaying, decrepit neo-Stalinism which approximates your "authoritarianism," which leaves alone the hair styles, fashion, and personal lives of citizens, and detains them almost exclusively for a good reason; that is, for open disagreement with the measures of the regime. This totalitarianism is deideologized, cynical, insecure, with the shadow economy, and so forth. After the years 1985 through 1987, it has been sharply liberalized, and, while preserving its previous structures thus far, has shifted in the direction of a combination of party authoritarianism with "certain elements of the democratic regime," which you consider practical. This debate of ours in a newspaper with large circulation testifies to this. If indeed the authorities are still too weak for structural reforms, it is not because they are not authoritarian enough, but because the democratic "elements" are still weak, and there is too much authoritarianism. The dead seize the living.

The authors wish to proceed from the fact that our society is "traditional," even with reservations. This is why they consider it mandatory "to look back to appropriate countries" beginning with England and France in the 17th century. Allegedly we are in for a comparable "transition from a precommercial to a commercial economy" and from totalitarianism to democracy through "a mandatory transitional, authoritarian period." To be sure, the economy in Europe, while precapitalist, has not been "precommercial" since at least the 13th and 14th centuries. To be sure, the reference to the "transitional period" is out of place here because totalitarianism did not precede absolute monarchies or Bonapartism. "The interval" was qualitatively different.... The entire picture turns out to be completely fantastic. Most of the "comparisons" by Igor Klyamkin and Andranik Migranyan are historically incorrect or even inadmissible; however, more on this below. All the continuity and the metamorphoses of the Russian lack of freedom after 1917 notwithstanding, it certainly has more than just a nontraditional nature; it has an unparalleled, unheard-of nature. This is why I. Klyamkin, while insisting together with A. Migranyan on the imaginary "traditionalism" of Soviet society, at the same time also has to mention that it is, so to speak, much worse than a traditional society, with "considerable negatives": "Nobody, not even the countries of the socialist world, have begun their transition from this point." Indeed, nowhere and at no time has a complete destruction of small land holdings, the peasantry as a class, corporativism, private trade and crafts, in a word, all foundations of traditionalism, occurred. However, if our situation is peculiar, as Igor Klyamkin justifiably maintains, even compared to that of modern-day Eastern Europe, it may not be mandatory to recall Louis XIV, or Napoleon, or even Alexander II. "We do not know (do not want to know) the entire experience of the world, or claim once again a special role in history, uniqueness" (Igor Klyamkin).

Yet, I repeat that October, the entirety of subsequent circumstances and structures, and finally, the domestic and world situation which are responsible for perestroyka have been truly unique. "Claims" to uniqueness are not the point; indeed, it would be better not to have been unique. However, we are. The "formation" is indeed new. A. Migranyan acknowledges this too: "...we do not even have a genuine state" (meaning the role of the party).

Therefore, it is possible that the leader of the discussion, T. Tselms, was too hasty in stating that "one cannot say this is illogical." I admit I would have been inclined to say so.

V.

Extrapolation is the only weapon of the political scientist, and Igor Klyamkin and Andranik Migranyan intimidate us with references "to the entire path of world civilization" (Andranik Migranyan) more than by anything else. They say that "modernization in the spiritual sphere has come first" always, then modernization in the economy, and "only then...a change in the political system" (Andranik Migranyan). "This has been borne out by the entire world practice of both the 17th and 20th centuries," seconds Igor Klyamkin. This is, in essence, the entire concept of the authors. Gorbachev should not have embarked on "democratization," nothing is going to come of it; a "market" must be created first. How? With "a strong arm," just as "the absolutist regime created a national market," and if it could not manage, a new authoritarian regime of the Bonapartist type appeared which solved the same problems "by creating conditions for...harmonization with an iron fist." Say, 200 years would be needed for all of this. Therefore, the authors would be truly logical and consistent only if they proposed to make Gorbachev's power hereditary....

The relationship of three spheres—economics, politics, and culture—has always been and remains 1,000 times more refined and intricate, and, most importantly, it depends on the type of society. After all, the "laws" ("mechanisms") of social movement change themselves. This unpredictable readjustment of history has been happening continuously since the New Time with increasing frequency and speed, and in particular before our eyes. Incidentally Marx made a mistake for this very reason; he could not yet know that future capitalism could not be extrapolated from the one of his time. Of course, nobody from the hodgepodge put together by the political scientists—Richelieu, Cromwell, or Latin American juntas—"created" national markets. They developed themselves.... The monarchies of the Middle Ages became "absolute" due to their advent. In their turn, they created a favorable political background for the reinforcement of "the third estate," although not just favorable...which was ultimately the reason for the Great French Revolution for which a logical place between the Louis kings and Napoleon is somehow lacking in the concept of the authors. Meanwhile, Napoleon carried on the cause of the revolution rather than absolutism with his "code...."

An easy flight over centuries and continents and the interpretation of real history as inexorably replicated circumstances among which the political scientist discerns the common thread are quite common. In NOVYY MIR, Migranyan defends "abstract political characteristics" and terms regimes from Louis Napoleon to Mussolini "right authoritarian." Hitler's regime is "right totalitarian-authoritarian," and Stalin's regime is "left-totalitarian." The "entire path of world civilization" is somehow evaporated, and at the bottom of the flask several colorless crystals are left.

An overwhelming majority of the historical "analogies" of our authors tumbles because the ancient "authoritarianism" of hereditary monarchies dating back to the Middle Ages is one thing, and the "authoritarianism" of generals in the course of a rapid entry by backward countries into the world context of a postindustrial situation is quite another. Most importantly, a transition from an authoritarianism of some kind to democracy after a traditionalist past dating back to the depths of the Middle Ages is one thing, and a transition following totalitarianism is another. In their reasoning concerning the inescapable "intermediate" period, the authors confuse this, as if from Cromwell on to Alexander II to some Stroessner there was totalitarianism, and their reign was a period of transition from it. If it is not so, then what do the "examples" have to do with the topic? What has happened after the totalitarian regimes of the 20th century, which were impossible earlier? After the destruction of Nazism, the countries which preserved the capitalist infrastructure converted right away to the mode of Western democracy. As far as the socialist camp and the growth of democracy in it, where is an analogy to be found? Many believe that thus far only in Hungary and Poland. Only their experience merits careful examination as a direct precedent...although even in this case the difference is abundantly obvious. This cannot be helped: October was unique, and so is perestroyka at present. There are no analogies which are definitely applicable to us. In this instance, we stick out alone, as Brezhnev's finger in the midst of phony history....

Here is a point. All "models," all methods of the civilized conduct of affairs in economics and politics have been known for a long time; unlike France since the 18th century, we do not have to invent them in agony. Certainly we cannot and will not just emulate everything, we have a path of our own. Still this makes things much easier. This is the first point. Furthermore, we may be backward, but we already are not country bumpkins. A tremendous country has a modern potential of productive forces. This is the second point. There is also the pressure of the military-political circumstances, and the world community to which Andranik Migranyan justifiably points as an important safeguard of perestroyka. However, the West expects of us exactly the success of Gorbachev's democratization rather than the turn to a dictatorship, even a "left-authoritarian" one. "The capitalist environment" does exist—much to our joy!—and our market will be helped by the world market if we open up to it. All of this is the third point.

VI.

Creating a new economy is difficult, and yet it is easier than many people think because it needs to be authorized rather than "created." However, to this end a very powerful, radical state impetus is indeed needed, and to this end, strong authorities. In this instance, the political scientists are absolutely right. However, why can't **democratic** authorities be strong? Only such authorities, whose strength is in their grassroots support, are suitable

for the purposes of perestroyka, and Gorbachev formulates this precisely. Where is it to come from? From the bottomless depth of our crisis against the backdrop of someone else's prosperity, from glasnost which makes it possible to discuss very many things publicly and thus have millions think them through, from our dramatic lack of time, from the fact that we have already made every conceivable and inconceivable mistake—from our frightening experience. Certainly, members of the Black Hundreds and obscurantists are not capable of extricating our country from the crisis. This is why I do not believe in their success on a mass scale; there are many fools in our country but not that many. In the dynamic ("revolutionary") situations of the kind we have in the USSR at present, the population learns in months what usually requires decades. This the fourth, fifth, and tenth point.

We are walking along the edge of an abyss, and thus far not at all holding hands. It is not surprising that many people are scared. The reasoning of I. Klyamkin and A. Migranyan has objectively expressed the dead ends of perestroyka, which include not only the resistance of the right, but for now also the amorphous and weak "interregional" opposition.

So, you are saying that the raykoms [rayon committees] and obkoms [oblast committees] of the party] have nobody to transfer power to, that "there is no state?" Then let us create a democratic state faster. Let us fight as we did in March, and with incomparably more success than in March. This in itself will not bring us salvation and happiness. Democracy does not bring happiness at all. It only allows everyone to argue for his own interpretation of it. Democracy produces no sausage or soap. However, democracy provides more hope that they will be available.

Days ago the Prime Minister of Poland, T. Mazowiecki, observed: "Some significant moments in history have shown that the Poles are capable of going for new solutions, nonstandard and innovative. I regard as hopeful the fact that such a moment has come about now; people feel that certain things depend on them." Our country is going to get moving in some other manner; however, in our country as well people have come to feel that "certain things depend on them." We will have **our own** "nonstandard solutions!"

As I see it, you cannot devise anything worse than what my esteemed colleagues have stated (with some secondary differences between them). However, the fact that it is already possible (and necessary!) "to devise" things is good in itself.

We have to attach our hopes to the historic creativity of the people; that is, ourselves.

Economic

Tax on Wage Funds Criticized as 'Stillborn'

PM2909142389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Prof V. Tomashkevich: "Not a Tax—a Contribution. Can It Save Us From Inflation?"]

[Text] Moscow—If we recall how certain decisions were made at the recent first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, then we could probably say that the amendments to the Law on the State Enterprise and the resolution on the taxation of state enterprises' labor remuneration funds were adopted with the greatest of enthusiasm and by a virtually unanimous vote. But were there grounds for optimism when it came to the document on taxation?

What were its positive points? Undoubtedly, the repeal of the directive-based and, from a proprietorial viewpoint, shortsighted correlation between wages and labor productivity growth and the fact that the new resolution institutes a most-favored status for consumer goods production. This, I think, was the main advantage that hypnotized deputies.

And yet the adopted document—I make so bold as to say this, contrary to the convictions of venerable economists—is the stillborn child of perestroyka, since it does not stimulate economic life as a whole, but instead sows dissension between Group "A" and "B" sectors and places people working in these sectors in an unequal position from the standpoint of the law of distribution according to labor. Moreover, the document drives a wedge even more strongly between the state sector and the cooperative system, and between the spheres of material and nonmaterial production.

What is proposed in the Supreme Soviet resolution is not a tax, but rather an open contribution which cannot be justified by any emergency. Does anyone seriously think that a growth of R10-15 in the monthly wage of workers in material production is really the cause of the collapse of our financial system, inflation, and shortages? The proposed measures hit those who create national income. So is that really proprietorial? Does a housewife deprive her family's breadwinner of a crust?

Even from the statistics on the results of last year and the first half of this year it is possible to draw conclusions that differ from those generally accepted. For instance, in 1988 labor remuneration funds increased by 6 percent, while profits grew by 10 percent. On the pages of PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK (No 2) Yu. Maslyukov, chairman of the State Planning Committee, said the following: "For each percentage point of labor productivity growth a relatively smaller amount is spent in wages." Profits growth has been running at almost twice the rate of wages growth—that is, to use the

vocabulary we employ when talking about the capitalist economy, the level of exploitation of the working class has increased.

Uncontrolled profits growth is a decisive factor in inflationary processes in the economy. Yes, some profits are spent on wages and social payments, but this bears no comparison to the money flowing on paper into the budget and into ministerial and departmental coffers. It is these paper inflows of money that are not backed by real resources that create the wave of inflation sweeping across society.

We have grown accustomed to talking about the inflation of the cash ruble and naively discussing the possibility of making it convertible vis-a-vis foreign currency. But first of all we should resolve the question of the convertibility into hard cash of money that exists only on paper, and thereby nip inflation in the bud. And not try to catch the escaped genie with a butterfly net or a fishing net, rushing from one extreme to the other. It is apposite to recall here that K. Marx' predecessor, the bourgeois economist D. Ricardo, wrote: "Raising wages does not raise prices, but invariably reduces profits." As a rule, we accuse wages of all economic sins and see wage restrictions as our "salvation" from inflation.

The economic weakness of the document adopted at the session was clearly visible in its taxation scale. (I do not know how those who developed its specific application will get out of this awkward situation. Although the very fact that the document will be applied indirectly is a nonsense). So let us try to "decipher" the scale. Suppose that a basic labor remuneration fund amounts to R10 million. Allow for growth of 10 percent. Result—an extra million. The tax payable, depending on the method of calculation used, will be between R200,000 and R2.1 million. A tenfold difference?! In other words, everything depends on the apparatus again. And the most surprising thing is that it is planned to levy the tax not on profits, nor on total economically accountable income, but solely on the labor remuneration fund. How is this possible? As a result we will not only have no growth, we will have a sharp reduction in the basic labor remuneration fund.

Obviously, the way to conquer inflation lies in emergency measures aimed at producing consumer goods and vigorously restructuring the economy. But so far there has been just talk and good wishes in this area. The forces of inertia are such that even in Moscow in the 1st 3 years of the 5-year plan Group "A" growth was 15 percent, while Group "B" growth was just 10 percent.

The indicators for the results of the current year are no better. This is obvious even to the untrained observer—from our besieged empty stores and from the price hikes. A good example for the country right under the noses of the central departments and leading organs, I must say!

And the situation will only improve if growth in Group "B" for the country as a whole in 1990 is not less than 15-20 percent instead of the proposed 6.7 percent.

I am profoundly convinced that life will very soon make us regret the hasty decision on taxation. But the price of this mistake is not just disappointment, but also very real millions of the people's money. Can we afford to make such mistakes?

I would like to believe that the people's deputies gathering for the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will reflect on the cost of hasty decisions, if only to prevent any repetition of costly mistakes. Reserves can be mobilized by a system of intelligent incentives, but not by bans.

Official on Economic 'Emergency Situation'

LD2909173889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Interview with Aleksandr Ilyenkov, identified as deputy chairman of the People's Control Committee, by correspondent Yuriy Korotkov; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] An emergency situation has arisen regarding the preparation of the country's national economy for work in winter conditions. Listen to the interview with Aleksandr Ivanovich Ilyenkov, deputy chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee gave to our correspondent Yuriy Korotkov.

[Begin recording] [Ilyenkov] The state of housing in the municipal economy is causing particular alarm and concern. Data from the State Statistical Committee shows that in the Russian Federation, for example, only Moscow and Leningrad are managing to complete the preparatory work. None of the 25 autonomous republics, krays and oblasts, where state work on preparations for the winter housing stock should have been completed by 1 September, have completed the task fully.

The situation in the Perm, Chita and Tomsk Oblasts is causing most alarm, as well as in the autonomous republics of Karelia, Buryatiya and Tuva, where over a quarter of the housing stock is not ready for use in winter conditions. The level of preparedness of the state housing stock is the lowest in Moldavia and the Ukraine.

There is no explanation for the extreme tardiness in the preparation of facilities providing the housing stock with an energy and heat supply. This work is being carried out unsatisfactorily in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.

By the beginning of September, the repair of over half the planned energy capacity of the boiler houses in the Georgian, Armenian and Latvian Republics was not complete. The repair of the heating network is being carried out extremely badly. At these facilities, the annual plan has been fulfilled by only 60 percent which particularly complicates the situation regarding the reliable provision of heat to such cities in the Russian Federation as Gorkiy, Ryazan, Vladimir, Ufa, Perm and many others.

[Korotkov] Aleksandr Ivanovich, railroad transport is also causing great concern, as are the recent miners' strikes which obviously have already lead to a fuel shortage.

[Ilyenkov] Yes, that is the worst effect, first of all, upon the electric power stations of the USSR Ministry of Energy where the creation of fuel reserves, particularly of coal—I want to stress this—is being carried out with a noticeable lag behind the task set by the government. A serious threat to the normal functioning of electric power stations has been created, for instance, at Kuzbassenergo, and primarily, at the Belovo State Regional Electric Power Station [GRES] and at Chelyab-Energo at the Troitsk GRES because coal has not been delivered. Moreover, it should be added that the tense situation which has arisen in the coal industry has sharply worsened the population's fuel supply. For August and the last days of September, the plan for the unloading of coal was not fulfilled by 4.5 million tonnes and around 2 million tonnes of oil products. As a result, the balance of oil products at plants is growing while consumer supplies are falling. Due to the nondelivery of the produce, oil processing plants in Kuybyshev, Saratov, Ufa, Perm, Volgograd and other regions often stand idle and are not used to the full.

Recently, the situation has been aggravated by the exacerbation of the sociopolitical situation in the country. Due to the work stoppage at industrial and transport enterprises in a number of Baltic Republics in Transcaucasia, and also in Moldavia for instance, over a thousand abandoned—as they call them—trains, with over 150,000 cars, stand idle on the railroad network. Railroad cars in a number of territories in the Russian Federation are also being loaded unsatisfactorily, particularly in Saratov, Rostov and Tula Oblasts and in the Maritime and Khabarovsk Krays. Incidentally, it should be noted that in the Ukraine and in Kazakhstan and in the Armenian republic the situation is similar.

[Korotkov] What are the People's Control bodies doing about this situation?

[Ilyenkov] I would like to say that the People's Control Committee is adopting an uncompromising position on all these problems. Our main task today is not just to prompt, not just to advise, even less to confirm violations, but to strictly demand that the laws and regulations be executed. I do not stop here at the adoption of strict punishments. We can impose such measures as removing people from their posts and demanding financial compensation—which incidentally, is being done. [end recording]

Rocket Production Reduced To Boost Consumer Goods

LD2509161789 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] In moscow the big rocket manufacturing plant has reduced by one-third the production of Proton rockets. They've been putting heavy satellites into orbit and taking automatic stations to the Moon, Mars and Venus. The production capacities will now be used to turn out consumer goods, medical equipment and robots for eliminating the aftermaths of big accidents. All this is expected to help reduce the shortages on the consumer market and improve the quality of goods.

Correction to Abalkin Interview on Economic Program

PM0210085989

The following correction pertains to the item entitled "Abalkin Details Program for Economic Recovery" published on page 79 of the 28 September DAILY REPORT:

page 83, column two, paragraph eight, first sentence should read: ...the demand for equal conditions for its... (substituting "equal" for "different");

page 84, column two, paragraph four, fourth sentence should read : ...need to create equal conditions of economic... (substituting "equal" for "different");

page 84, column two, paragraph four, fifth sentence should read: ...enterprises. It is equal conditions which should... (substituting "equal" for "different").

Scientific

Gorizont Communications Satellite Launched 28 Sep

LD2909130389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Sep (TASS)—In accordance with the program to further develop systems of communication and television broadcasting using artificial earth satellites, a routine "Gorizont" communications satellite was launched by a "Proton" carrier-rocket in the USSR on Thursday [28 September]. It was put into a near stationary orbit with these initial parameters: distance from the surface of the earth—35,753km; period of rotation around the earth—23 hours 54 minutes; inclination of orbit 1.3 degrees. The equipment is working normally.

Bio-Satellite Successfully Returns to Earth

LD2909155189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Sep (TASS)—The "space travellers"—female monkeys Zhakonya and Zabiyaka—together with the other occupants of the "living corner" of the satellite 'Cosmos-2044,' returned safely to earth this morning.

The descent module made a soft landing 165 km south of the town of Kustanay. A TASS correspondent at the Medico-Biological Institute for the USSR Health Ministry was told that the Macaques will be brought to the capital this evening for further study. The first medical examination at the cosmodrome has already shown that they endured the flight normally.

The launch was on 15 Septmeber. Yevgeniy Ilyin, deputy director of the institute, told TASS that problems studied during the flight included the way the living processes of various organisms are affected by factors of space flight such as brief and long periods of weightlessness, artificial gravitation, the combined effect of weightlessness and ionizing radiation, and galactic cosmic radiation. Ultimately, the scientists said, this will help us to better understand the laws governing the adaptation of the organism in extreme conditions of space and to develop promising means of protecting the body during short and long manned space flights.

Yevgeniy Ilyin reminded us that the Bion-3 research project is a joint effort by scientists from the countries participating in the Intercosmos program, and also from the United States, France, Canada, and the European Space Agency—some 20 states in all.

During the 14-day flight, about 80 experiments and studies were carried out, using monkeys, rats, fish, insects, and plants. Further analysis and processing of the resultant data will be continued in the scientific laboratories of the Medico-Biological Institute, and of the member countries of the Bion-9 program.

Cosmonauts Continue Work Onboard Mir Orbiter

Experiments Described

LD2909143789 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—By TASS special correspondent reporting from Mission Control Centre:

The crew of the orbital Mir (Peace) space station, Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov, were busy last week installing new equipment delivered by a freight spacecraft.

The two cosmonauts also carried out a number of medico-biological and technical experiments.

The flight programme envisages the attachment of two more special modules to the space complex already in orbit.

In preparation for the operation, the cosmonauts yesterday installed and checked an additional electronic unit in the docking system.

Today the crew plan to work with an electric-supply system, conduct experiments on assessing ionising radiation in near-earth space and make a televised report.

The cosmonauts will rest on Saturday and Sunday. Both are in good health. The flight of the Mir complex is proceeding normally.

Rest Day Described

LD3009171789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Saturday aboard the "Mir" research complex is a day free of work and experiments. The crew is engaged in tidying up their home in space and taking physical exercise on the cycle ergometer and the running track. Three television sessions and a so-called news and entertainment program are planned for the cosmonauts. In the course of the day, scientific data about the streams of micrometeorites in near-Earth space from sensors located on the external surface of the station is being transmitted to Earth in communications sessions.

According to the crew's reports, the flight is proceeding in accordance with the planned schedule. Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are feeling fine.

Military

Baltic Military Leaders Criticize Attacks on Army

Military Council Convenes

PM2909110389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh article: "Military Council Appeal"]

[Text] In the difficult political situation prevailing in a number of parts of the country, including the Soviet Baltic republics, extremist forces have intensified their attacks on the Soviet Armed Forces. The processes of perestroyka in the Army environment have been reflected in the local press in a biased and prejudiced way.

The same forces are making various attempts to discredit service in the Armed Forces and erase from people's consciousness the memory of the Soviet Army's liberating mission in the Great Patriotic War.

The problems of countering anti-army sentiments and strengthening the prestige of the Armed Forces among the local population were the subject of a routine session of the Baltic Military District Military Council at which Lieutenant General O. Zinchenko, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate, delivered the report. The session ratified a plan for urgent measures to oppose anti-army sentiments. At the same time, the Military Council admitted that a high degree of organization and irreproachable discipline among all personnel are the main fundamental directions in work to enhance the Army's prestige among the people.

The Military Council session adopted an appeal to party and soviet organs, social organizations, and all citizens of the Soviet Baltic republics.

"It is well known," the appeal states in particular, "that many problems have built up in society. Nor have they left the Army unscathed, which, as part of society, lives the same life. The Stalin period and stagnation with all their distorted phenomena considerably damaged the Army. It would be naive to suppose that all this has ethnic roots."

The theme running through the entire appeal was the call to strengthen the unity between the Army and the people.

The appeal was signed by Colonel General F. Kuzmin, commander of the district; A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; Ya Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; and V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

The text of the appeal has been published in the local press.

Appeal of Council Members

PM2909131789 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 17 Sep 89 p 1

["Address to Party and Soviet Organs, Public Organizations, and All Citizens of the Soviet Baltic Republics" from Baltic Military District Military Council members]

[Text] September 15—Comrades! We, members of the Red Banner Baltic Military District Military Council responsible to the people and the party for the state of affairs and for the troops' high combat readiness, voicing the opinion of the district's servicemen, feel forced to address you. This is dictated by the complex situation taking shape in the Baltic region and the continuing attacks against the Soviet Army. It obviously profits someone to portray the USSR Armed Forces as being to blame for all troubles and misfortunes, to create a malicious and cruel image of force in the person of the Soviet soldier and officer divorced from the people, and to portray military collectives as a milieu where human dignity is trampled on. This is why views are being implanted that the Soviet Army is an "army of occupation" hostile to the Lithuanian, Lettish, and Estonian peoples. And these ideas, unfortunately, are materialized and find expression in the actions of extremists. Insulting slogans, a disrespectful attitude toward the graves of servicemen who fell in the fighting to liberate the Baltic peoples, and other actions being taken pursue the aim of destroying the memory of the Soviet Army's great liberation mission during the years of the last war. Certain forces allow themselves to degrade civic dignity and to insult the honor of Soviet soldiers and officers—representatives of the Army which has won the respect and gratitude of the world's peoples.

We would like to ask some "champions of national interests": "Would the object of their concern have even existed today had the multinational Soviet Army not routed fascism?"

The peoples' historical memory is always true. But a lie, in whatever clothes it is dressed, will always remain a lie. The present cannot be examined from the positions of the past. The pain of the past cannot be the sole foundation of the future. Insults against the Army are also insults against our children. Such actions on a moral plane increase the difficulties of military service, which is already objectively difficult. And the discriminatory nature of illegal decisions adopted locally—discriminatory with regard to servicemen and members of their families—causes irreparable harm to the unity of the Army and the people. This benefits those who, while speaking hypocritically of the people's interests, want to deprive them of reliable protection and to turn the Army of a mighty state into a "toy Army" split up into national apartments.

The district's servicemen treat with great respect the national sacred places, the culture, and the history of the peoples of the Soviet Baltic region, just as those of all the peoples of our multinational motherland. The Army has never been indifferent to the interests and pains of the people. Chernobyl and the aid for the earthquake-hit Armenian rayons, the servicemen's contribution to gathering in the harvest and clearing mines, housing construction, and involvement in ecological programs attest to this. And the Soviet serviceman has always come to people's assistance at the most difficult moments and been where things have been hardest and most dangerous.

It is well known how many problems have accumulated in society. And they have not bypassed the Army, which, being part of society, leads the same life as it does. The era of Stalinism and stagnation with all their ugly manifestations did the Army considerable harm. It would be naive to think that all this has national roots and that, as soon as national formations are created, the problems with moral origins would disappear as if at the wave of a magic wand. Only joint efforts by the public and the command of units can conquer the evil that still exists in barracks, including such a phenomenon as nonregulation relations. You can understand the feelings of a mother who wants her son to serve closer to home and her anxiety for him. And only through joint efforts can this anxiety be lessened.

Comrades! The processes of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost, which are gathering momentum among the district's troops, are breaking up everything obsolete that hinders progress. We favor a businesslike, interested discussion of painful points in military life and constructive criticism of shortcomings. We await you in units and see the further strengthening of ties between the people and the Army as an asset created by history, an immutable asset of our socialist state. It is our common task to augment this asset!

Colonel General F. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District and chairman of the District Military Council;

Members of the Military Council:
A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee;
Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee;
V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee;
Lieutenant General O. Zinchenko, member of the Military Council and chief of the District Political Directorate;
Lieutenant General F. Melnichuk, first deputy commander of the district;
Lieutenant General P. Chaus, district chief of staff;
Major General V. Timchenko, commander of the Air Force.

Military Crime, Lack of Discipline Discussed

PM0210095189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Sep 89 Single Edition p 2

[Article by Justice Major General L. Zaika, first deputy chief military prosecutor: "United Front Against Crime"; first two paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] The fact that the state of law and order has deteriorated practically everywhere and that considerable growth in crime is to be observed, particularly in organized, mercenary, violent crime, was spoken of with great concern at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the First USSR Supreme Soviet Session. An extraordinary situation has taken shape and demands decisive measures. These are defined in the special resolution adopted by the First USSR Supreme Soviet Session. On its basis temporary committees are now being set up everywhere, and work programs and plans are being approved.

But what is the crime situation like in the Army and Navy? This is discussed in the article published today.

The level of crime in the Army and Navy is not as high as in the country as a whole. But this is poor consolation. The point is that crime is growing among minors. And this rate of growth has doubled this year. Last year almost 18,000 members of youth groupings involved in disrupting public order and committing crimes were on the books of internal affairs organs. And these are future servicemen.

Whereas crime has fallen in the Army milieu in recent years thanks to joint efforts by the command, political organs, and military justice and there have been fewer dangerous and serious crimes, this process has now come to a virtual halt.

It is, of course, a good thing that the number of cases of abuse of power and distortion of disciplinary practice on the part of commanders has fallen. There are fewer cases of insubordination and disobedience among lower ranks. At the same time, however, this year there has been an increase in the number of group crimes and drink-related crimes. There have been considerably more (almost 30 percent more) cases of evasion of military service. But it is particularly alarming that there have been more frequent thefts of weapons, ammunition, and explosives. As can be seen, reliable obstacles to them have not been erected in certain units.

Thus, in the Transbaykal Military District combined unit commanded by Colonel N. Kashlev, not all units and subunits had metal grilles on their storehouse windows and alarm systems. Many officials responsible for the safe storage of weapons and ammunition proved strikingly negligent. Taking advantage of these omissions in one subunit, Ensigns V. Finoshkin and P. Petrov got drunk, drove out of the garrison in an official vehicle carrying weapons, and began firing at random. They were not arrested until 7 hours later.

In another unit of the same combined unit Private A. Sannikov was assigned to guard an ammunition dump. Being totally untrained for this, he admitted some teenagers into the post and sold them 10 combat mines and 11 kg of explosives.

It must not be forgotten that the criminal world's saturation with weapons increases the threat of destabilization of the situation in entire regions. This means that urgent and exhaustive measures are needed to instill order in the storage and use of weapons and ammunition and to eradicate irresponsibility on the part of officials. These questions were discussed at a recent session of the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office Collegium, and corresponding decisions were adopted with the aim of stepping up supervision of the fulfillment of regulation norms relating to the safekeeping of weapons and ammunition.

The improvement of the activities of military prosecutor's office organs is also aimed at intensifying the struggle against crime and ensuring legality in the USSR Armed Forces today. It is appropriate to recall that, under the USSR Constitution and existing legislation, the military prosecutor's office exercises its powers independently of any local or military organs, being subordinate only to the USSR general prosecutor. Moreover, the chief military prosecutor recently became at the same time USSR deputy general prosecutor.

Another innovation is the fact that the procedure which existed for more than 30 years, whereby the consent of the corresponding command was required in order to institute criminal proceedings against servicemen for military crimes, has been abolished. Questions of instituting criminal proceedings against servicemen for committing all kinds of crimes are now decided on common grounds which are the same for all USSR citizens. This fully accords with the concept of the socialist rule-of-law state and with the principle enshrined in the USSR Constitution of the equality of all citizens before the law.

In addition to fighting crime, military prosecutors and investigators are obliged to take appropriate measures to expose and eliminate in good time any other violations

of the law, no matter from whom they stem, to restore violated rights, and to institute the proceedings envisaged by law against the guilty persons. In these cases military prosecutors are simply obliged to institute disciplinary proceedings against offenders or proceedings relating to an administrative offense and not to confine themselves to an official warning of the inadmissibility of violating the law.

We must be realists and be clearly aware that the offenses and other negative phenomena that occur in the Army are connected, above all, with flaws in people's moral education and with manifestations of passiveness and indifference, incompetence, and irresponsibility. This is borne out by materials from prosecutor's office supervision work and from investigations into specific crimes. This means that a constantly and efficiently operating broad united front is needed in the fight against crime, lawbreaking, and violation of the general military regulations. Of course, with all possible development of glasnost, critisism, self-criticism, and intransigence toward shortcomings. All this has a clear-cut legal basis enshrined in the Statute on the Military Prosecutor's Office and, finally, in the aforementioned USSR Supreme Soviet resolution.

In December 1988 a permanent council of representatives of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, the main staffs of the branches of the Armed Forces, the main and central directorates of the USSR Ministry of Defense, military justice organs, and military educational institutions was set up for the purpose of coordinating measures to strengthen legality and law and order and to prevent crimes and other offenses. In addition, temporary crime-fighting commissions are now being set up in military districts, groups of forces, fleets, and large strategic formations. They will include commanders, officers of political organs and staffs, military jurists, and representatives of party and Lenin Communist Youth League organizations. These commissions are entrusted with systematically analyzing the state of military discipline and promptly drawing up practical measures to strengthen it. And here it is important to make fuller use of the joint work experience accumulated earlier. This is not very voluminous, but it does exist.

In the Pacific Fleet, for example, a mutual exchange of information on crime and the state of legality in the region and in military units has been organized with the Maritime Kray Prosecutor's Office, the Internal Affairs Administration, and the Justice Department of the Kray Soviet Executive Committee. This enables the fleet command and military prosecutors to have a day-to-day effect on preventing them. Joint work by the command, the political organs, and the military prosecutor's office of the Belorussian Military District has been approved. The in-depth study organized there of the incoming draft and work with it have made it possible to improve the prevention of offenses.

Representations by prosecutors and investigators with regard to the causes and conditions which contribute to the commission of offenses occupy a special place in the practice of cooperation with the command and with political organs. Unfortunately, there are frequent instances where units respond only formally to these representations. After a time the violations are repeated, and second and sometimes even third representations follow. At the same time individual prosecutors rest content with the number of representations and are not particularly concerned about their substance or quality. And yet representations must be made only in cases of real need, on the most important issues, and with specific proposals.

Ensuring inevitable retribution for offenses committed remains the key task. The law requires every offense to be properly investigated and the guilty persons to receive their deserved punishment. In this connection it is a matter for concern that the concealment of offenses by individual commanders has not been completely eliminated. Even military prosecutors sometimes take unprincipled positions here.

Life shows that the extremely simplified approach of certain higher chiefs and management organs to assessing the activities of subordinates in strengthening military discipline prompts commanders to conceal offenses. Sometimes everything boils down to a simple comparison of the number of offenses in the past as against the reporting period. Such an approach prompts not active work on strengthening discipline but deception.

This was precisely how Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Rodchenko, commander of a unit in the Western Group of Forces, and Lieutenant Colonel D. Gorenko, his deputy for political affairs, acted. They devoted more attention to ostentatiously providing the unit's territory with amenities than to maintaining discipline and educating the men. They failed to suppress instances of rudeness which appeared in the treatment of subordinates by junior commanders and concealed them from the higher command. Complaints and charges about oppressive treatment were not reacted to. Naturally the situation became inflamed, and things reached the point where Sergeant I. Kravtsov was killed by a subordinate who could no longer stand the taunts.

It is important now for everyone to understand that the assessment of work on strengthening military discipline must be based not on formal statistical indicators but, above all, on the commanders' strict fulfillment of laws and military regulations and the full use of their powers to instill and maintain regulation order, to prevent offenses, and to ensure inevitable punishment for every violation of military discipline.

The further strengthening of discipline and organization, the assertion of strict regulation order, and the fight against crime constitute an important sector of perestroyka in the Army and Navy. To achieve success here

it is necessary to act vigorously, boldly, creatively, and—without fail—in close unity.

Successful Atomic Detonation in 1954 Detailed

LD2909111789 Moscow TASS in English 1054 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—A real atomic bomb was detonated during a Soviet military exercise on September 14, 1954, in order to study the effects of the explosion and test troop ability to negotiate contaminated terrain, the army daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) reports today.

"After the atomic strike, there were not only no landmarks left on the terrain, but the area itself became irrecognizable [as received]. "However, the troops fulfilled their assigned tasks completely, according to the paper.

"The world at the time was gripped by a 'cold war' and the NATO block, into which West Germany was being drawn, was building up its muscle.

"Only nine years after a war that had taken 20 million of our compatriots' lives, it never even occurred to us to question any measures meant to bolster the army's battleworthiness and the country's defence capability," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA says.

The exercise was prepared carefully in advance. The site was selected in the South Ural Military District.

Full-size foxholes and standard fire trenches, with overhead covers in many places, and deep underground shelters with double doors were built for the forces, equipment and ammunition involved.

The least studied, radiation was the most feared of the a-bomb blast effects and the bomb was exploded 50 meters above ground, leaving little radioactive contamination.

The then defence minister, Nikolay Bulganin, summed up the exercise as successful.